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CULROSS AND TULLIALLAN

OR

PERTHSHIRE ON FORTH

THE OLD CASTLE OF TULLIALLAN.

CULROSS AND TULLIALLAN

OR

PERTHSHIRE ON FORTH

ITS HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

WITH

ELUCIDATIONS OF SCOTTISH LIFE AND CHARACTER
FROM THE BURGH AND KIRK-SESSION
RECORDS OF THAT DISTRICT

BY

DAVID BEVERIDGE

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
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PREFACE.

THE object of the following work is twofold—to give a monograph or special history of a particular district, and at the same time, by using the civil and ecclesiastical records of that district as a basis, to present a view of the social and domestic usages of Scotland in bygone times. It may be regarded as an endeavour to combine a survey of the annals and local antiquities of a detached region of Perthshire with a contribution, though a modest one, in historical studies and folk-lore, to the general fund of archæological literature.

The district of which the history and description form the subject of the following pages, is one which, though situated at no great distance from either the eastern or western capital of Scotland, is yet from various circumstances comparatively unknown. It is somewhat difficult of access to the majority of

tourists; it contains no extraordinary or sensational wonders of natural scenery; and no very prominent or decisive event in Scottish annals has transpired within its bounds. Still it exhibits many features that are both remarkably interesting and attractive; and it is connected, by implication at all events, with several of the most important epochs in the history of our country. It presents, moreover, a special claim for consideration in the circumstance of its being for the most part virgin soil, such as has scarcely yet been *exploité* by literary investigators or pioneers; and may therefore, to carry out the metaphor, be expected to produce to the first labourers in the field a tolerably abundant harvest.

As regards the special department of inquiry on which I have adventured myself—the elucidation of old times and manners by means of the municipal and ecclesiastical records—it is a subject which of late years has attracted great and ever-increasing attention. The age has become keenly alive to the importance of having those records examined and published, in view of the light which they may be expected to shed both on historical questions, strictly so termed, and the modes of life and domestic surroundings of our ancestors. These last, it is now generally admitted, are as deserving of study as the narrative of public events and com-

motions, the prowess of military leaders, the succession of monarchs, or the struggle of political factions. Another ever-growing desire of the mind of the day is to penetrate behind the scenes of public history, to understand the machinery of the stage and the promptings of the actors who there played their part, so that the conduct and merits of the drama enacted may be more thoroughly realised and comprehended. The urgency of this demand is shown by the eagerness with which autobiographies of great or distinguished individuals are sought for and welcomed by the reading public. Nor has the Legislature been slow to respond to this aspiration in the extensive provision which it has made for the calendaring and publication of the State papers; and more recently, in the commission issued for the investigation of the documents contained in charter-chests and private collections.

In reference specially to the investigations of our Scottish municipal and ecclesiastical records, several labourers have already appeared. Among these, Dr Marwick has done excellent service in the analysis of the burgh records of the Scottish capital; Dr Laing has been equally successful with those of the pleasant town of Newburgh, on the banks of the Tay, and also with the ecclesiastical archives of the place, as bearing mainly on the history of the vener-

able Abbey of Lindores, in its immediate vicinity; Dr Ebenezer Henderson has made the kirk-session and town-council minutes of Dunfermline yield a vast amount of interesting information; and Dr Ross has produced a very entertaining little volume from the materials furnished by the session-books of the parish of Dalgety. But the chief place is to be accorded to Dr Robert Chambers, who, in his 'Domestic Annals of Scotland,' by presenting to the reader a series of extracts from the civil and ecclesiastical records of past times, accompanied by a running commentary, has exhibited in an interesting and satisfactory manner, as Thomas Carlyle did a few years previously in 'Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches,' the principle of leaving historical documents to tell their own tale, and thus enabling the reader to form his own independent conclusions.

It is quite true that the burgh and kirk-sesssion records themselves, taken in detail, do not furnish a very entertaining or even profitable department of reading. There is often but "a halfpenny-worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack"—or, to speak more correctly, a modicum of good grain hidden in a mound of chaff. That is to say, the materials of useful information are frequently encumbered with prolix and tedious phraseology, or buried in a mass of tedious and uninteresting details. Yet

copious stores of valuable matter exist there, and many of the entries themselves have a special interest and piquancy. By the exercise of some industry, along with a judicious selection and blending, it seems possible to produce a narrative which, even in those days of high pressure and impatience of aught savouring of the heavy or prolix, might be capable of attracting the notice and commanding the attention of ordinary readers. Such a task I have set myself to; and though I am far from confident of having accomplished it creditably, I am yet conscious of having expended all my energies and done my best towards effecting so desirable a consummation.

It may be proper to state, that whilst the following work has been written from a Presbyterian point of view, and with a strong desire to render justice to a system of ecclesiastical polity which has too often been both misapprehended and maligned in its own as well as in other lands, I have endeavoured throughout to act with the utmost impartiality and fair-play. I have in no way spared the Presbyterians, or tried to screen their failings, when their conduct has seemed in any respect indefensible; and as I have not hesitated to contemplate the humorous as well as the serious aspects of the various incidents and circumstances presented to the notice of the reader, I may possibly have exposed myself occasion-

ally to the charge of lukewarmness or indifference in religious matters—an animadversion for which I should be sorry indeed to think that I had furnished any cause. It is a trite remark that when any one attempts to do impartial justice to all parties, he often only succeeds in drawing on himself general censure and condemnation.

Like many others of a similar kind, this undertaking took its rise from small beginnings. Having been almost accidentally induced, through the occurrence of a suitable opportunity, to investigate the earliest volume of the kirk-session records of Culross, I made a few extracts from it, and was led on gradually to extend my researches through the remaining ones, and afterwards through the minutes of the town council of Culross and the kirk-session records of Tulliallan. It was suggested to me that, with the aid of supplementary information, there could be formed out of these a consecutive narrative or treatise which might pass muster as a local history of the parishes of Culross and Tulliallan. The incitement being thus given, I proceeded to gather fresh materials, and contrived ultimately to bring the results of my researches into a regular and connected form. Every possible source of information has been tried, and every endeavour made to render the work as a whole both interesting and useful.

In conclusion, I have only to express my thanks to my relative, Mr Erskine Beveridge, of St Leonard's Hill, Dunfermline, who very kindly took, specially for this work, the photographic views from which the chief part of the illustrations, including the frontispieces of the two volumes, have been derived; to Mr John J. Dalgleish, of West Grange, Culross, who has contributed a valuable and interesting paper on the birds of Culross and Tulliallan, which will be found in the Appendix; to Mr T. Etherington Cooke, of West Arthurlie, Barrhead, who allowed me to use, for the purposes of illustration, some of the beautiful photographs taken by him of Culross and its neighbourhood; to Major Johnston, Culross Abbey, and the Rev. John M'Gregor, Culross, for similar favours; to the Rev. William Bruce of St Serf's-next-Culross, for liberty of access to the large and excellent library at Dunimarle; to the Rev. George Stephen, of the First Charge, Culross, and Mr J. K. Penney, registrar there, for access to the kirk-session books, and to the collection of papers in the possession of the latter, formerly belonging to the corporation of the girdlesmiths; to Mr Andrew Stephen, town-clerk of Culross, for similar favours in reference to the burgh records; to the Rev. John Smeaton, minister of Tulliallan, and Mr Buchanan, registrar there, for access to the session-books of that parish; and generally to the

subscribers to this work, respecting which I can only express the hope that its perusal may not be altogether unattended with satisfaction, and that any favourable expectations entertained may not be deemed to be altogether unfulfilled.

DURHAM HOUSE, TORRYBURN,
June 1885.

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CULROSS AND TULLIALLAN.

CHAPTER I.

TOPOGRAPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY OF THE TWO PARISHES.

THOUGH distinctly enough laid down in our maps, it is not, I believe, generally known that a detached portion of Perthshire is washed by the waters, and extends for several miles along the shore, of the Firth of Forth. One of the largest, and also one of the most compact counties of Scotland, as exhibited in its main outline, Perth is commonly regarded as in all respects strictly and unqualifiedly an inland province. The traveller by steamer between Granton and Alloa is surprised to learn, on approaching Borrowstounness, where the Firth is nearly four miles wide, that the beautiful bay on his right, with its richly wooded braes and white houses straggling picturesquely along the beach, belongs for the most part to the great county which he is so familiar with in the atlas, and which he has always understood to

lie wholly behind the Ochils—that blue range of hills that bounds the horizon on the north, like a barrier between earth and sky. And similarly, if he should journey by rail from Dunfermline to Stirling, he will experience the same feeling, on emerging from the picturesque defile of Comrie Dean, when he is informed that the finely undulating country between him and the sea on his left, as well as the rising ground on his right, crowned in the distance by dark pine-forests, all extending about three miles in a direct line between East Grange and Kincardine stations, is an outlying district included in Perthshire.

This detached portion of the county, lying south of the Ochils along the Firth of Forth, comprises two parishes — those of Culross and Tulliallan. Though not containing within itself those grander features of scenery which form such prominent characteristics of the greater Perthshire, it has nevertheless many indubitable and peculiar beauties of its own, not the least considerable being the strikingly diversified and extensive prospects which it commands from numerous points of view, and which enable the inhabitants of a district so favoured to enjoy as their own the natural advantages of the region beyond their pale.

These two parishes comprise together an area of about twenty-two square miles, of which Culross contains sixteen—its form being nearly that of a square of four miles. Tulliallan is of a more irregular figure, having an extreme length of nearly four

miles from north to south, and a breadth varying from one to two miles. The whole district comprehended by these parishes is completely cut off from the larger county of Perth by the intervention of the parishes of Saline in Fife, and Clackmannan in the county of that name, which form the northern boundaries of Culross and Tulliallan.

The best view of the district under consideration is obtained from the Firth of Forth, from the deck of one of those steamers which used (and are still, in summer, wont) to ply between Leith or Granton and Stirling. They have, however, been in a great measure superseded by the Stirling and Dunfermline Railway, which, though in some respects affording a more convenient mode of transit, has yet tended to render the upper shores of the Forth unknown to the majority of travellers. Indeed the march of improvement has rather retarded than promoted the prosperity of Culross and its district, seeing that practically, since the Stirling steamers and Glasgow coach have ceased to pass through her borders, the only communication open with the great world is a line of railway passing through the north of the parish, at a distance of three miles from the town; and Kincardine, in the parish of Tulliallan, is still more disadvantageously situated.

In sailing up the Firth of Forth, after entering the great pool or roadstead of the estuary—which extends in a lower reach from the narrow strait at Queensferry to the town of Kincardine, and thence in an upper to that of Alloa, where the river

may properly be said to commence—the first point touched at by the steamer used to be the quay of Charlestown, from which travellers could proceed by a tramway to Dunfermline. Proceeding a mile or two farther on, the pier of Crombie Point is approached; and here is reached the eastern extremity of the beautiful bay of Culross. From this the full extent of its curve is seen, trending gradually round by the villages of Torryburn and Newmills — the scattered houses of Low Valleyfield, and the town of Culross itself, nestling in a nook on the slope of a hill, under the shadow of its venerable Abbey Church, with the towers of Dunimarle forming the western or upper horn of the bay.

It is a rare scene of beauty that presents itself as we steam along. First we pass the braes of Crombie, and woods and grounds of Craigflower; then the village of Torryburn, with its green or *ness* stretching westwards from it along the shore; then the heights of Torry, with the village of Newmills straggling in most picturesque fashion over the height which, on the side towards the sea, terminates in the rounded projection known by the name of Duniquarle. A fine peep of the Ochils is here visible through a gap in the rising grounds or braes, the tops of which form the semicircular crest of Culross Bay on the land side, and being for the most part clothed with woods, contrast beautifully with the sloping gardens and fields, and white houses, and line of beach at their feet. The western limit of the "kingdom" of Fife is here passed, the stream which

falls into the sea at Newmills dividing the county from Perthshire, and the parish of Torryburn from that of Culross. Newmills Bridge, a fine structure, is seen spanning the burn, and forming a picturesque object at what may almost be regarded as the upper extremity or centre of the bay; and nearly opposite to it is Preston Island, which serves, as it were, to divide the bay into two portions, by bisecting the base of the semicircle or arc that extends between Crombie Point and Culross. Distance, we know, lends enchantment, and it is not advisable to make too intimate an acquaintance either with the beautifully situated villages of Torryburn and Newmills, or the singularly picturesque and romantic-looking Preston Island, that has all the appearance, with its grey buildings rising sheer from the water's edge, of having been in bygone days the site of some venerable cathedral or abbey. Like Constantinople, a good deal of æsthetic fervour is apt to be dissipated on the stranger either traversing the streets of the villages in question, or learning the true history and quality of the erections on the island. The former being in Fife, are beyond the scope of our present inquiries. Regarding the latter, which belongs to the parish of Culross, I shall have something more to say at a future stage. At present let us content ourselves with its picturesque aspect as we steam past at some distance on the outer side, the bay between the island and the shore being extremely shallow, and left almost entirely dry at the ebbing of the tide.

We are now fairly opposite the Perthshire shore, which in beautiful sinuosity winds along from the mouth of Newmill Burn for upwards of a mile. The intervening space is occupied by the village of Low Valleyfield, if village indeed it can be called, which is rather a series of small detached houses placed at irregular intervals along the narrow road which skirts the shore of the bay, with long sloping gardens behind, ascending the acclivity of the braes, and crested at the top with the bright foliage of the Valleyfield and Culross woods. The *coup d'œil* is singularly attractive; and it is commonly reported that the world-renowned Turner paid a visit on one occasion to Sir Robert Preston at Valleyfield, and assured him that Culross Bay was equal in beauty to the Bay of Naples.

But the finest view of all, perhaps, is not yet reached. Here we are approaching the town of Culross itself, the ancient royal burgh, about which, before I part with my reader, I shall, I believe, have a good deal to say. The fishing cottage and pond at the eastern extremity of the burgh territory—a view of which, by the way, has been painted by Nasmyth—pass first under our notice; then the parabola-shaped road, curving along from thence to Culross, with the small white house of St Mungo's seen through the trees; the Abbey orchard on the slope, crowned by the splendid front of the mansion of Culross Abbey; and then the church with its tower, the ruins of the monastery, and the houses of the town running down the steep slope and scat-

tering themselves along the flat or tongue of land that lies between the foot of the hill and the sea.

The view of Culross from the water—whether contemplated at a distance or from a nearer point to the shore, either from a boat or the extremity of the pier—is remarkably beautiful, and may vie, if not with "Genoa the superb," at least with many of the picturesque little towns that fill up the recesses on the romantic banks of the Rhine or the Seine. As regards the latter river, it bears some resemblance to Honfleur, as approached from the opposite coast from Havre, which occupies nearly the same relative position that the town of Borrowstounness does to Culross, to which it lies almost immediately opposite. The distance between the places is nearly the same —that is to say, from three to four miles. But the great seaport at the *embouchure* of the Seine suffers much by comparison with Borrowstounness, which is, perhaps, one of the least attractive towns in the world, whether viewed at a distance or on close and personal inspection. Nor does the adjoining country, either up or down the southern shore of the Firth, do much to redeem its character. There are doubtless, on one side, the fine grounds of Hopetoun and Carriden, with the grey walls of the ancient castle of Blackness, a prominent object by the shore; whilst on the other we have the woods of Kinneil, and the lower coast, almost Bengal-like in its groups of trees, and level carse-land extending from the mouth of the Avon up to that of the Carron at Grangemouth. But the general contour of the

southern coast of the Firth of Forth is at this point rather tame and prosaic. The high banks which rise from the water slope down on their southern side on the smiling and fertile valley that contains the town of Linlithgow, and the beautiful country stretching east and west from it—towards Edinburgh on one side, and Falkirk on the other. But as these descend towards the Forth their aspect is northern, their soil in many instances cold and ungenial, their outline is too uniform and too little diversified, and the principal advantage that they possess is the contemplation of the beautiful country on the Fife and Perthshire shores.

Let us, then, take a close and steady look at Culross, which is now seen directly facing us on our right, and to a fanciful imagination takes the form of a big Y stretching along the acclivity. The ancient royal burgh, which strangers, and even some residents who might know better, speak of merely as a "village," is certainly small in extent and population, but nevertheless presents a sufficiently dignified and patriarchal aspect. Crowned at the top by the Abbey Church with its venerable Norman tower—surmounted in recent times, in questionable taste, by a perpendicular bartizan and pinnacles—the town originally extended downwards, in an unbroken line, by a very steep and narrow street, The upper houses have, however, for many years disappeared, and the space on each side of the road is occupied by the gardens and pleasure-grounds belonging to the mansion of the Park. Adjoining the

church is the manse, with the ruins of the old monastery immediately adjoining, and the long and stately front of Culross Abbey extending eastwards along the crest of the hill, with its terrace-garden and orchard sloping down the bank. At the point where the present town commences, a steep lane of houses leads down to the Cross, from which again three narrow streets diverge, and join at the foot the main street, or Low Causeway, which traverses the town from east to west, on a level with the sea-shore. Red-tiled roofs are more conspicuous than slated ones; and behind the houses at the west end a beautiful range of hanging gardens is seen, formed in a great measure out of sandstone bluffs, which seem in bygone days to have supplied the materials from which the town was built. The townhouse with its picturesque bell-tower, giving the place one of its most prominent features, is seen on the low ground, with its green in front; and the grey smoke rising up from the chimneys, with the green foliage of the trees in which the town is embosomed, complete the outline of Culross as viewed from the water. Altogether, it is a most charming picture, and well deserving the attention of an artist.

We now continue our cruise up the Firth, passing on our right the mansion-house and braes of Balgownie, and then Dunimarle with its tower and castellated terrace, and the pretty Episcopal chapel of St Serf rising on the sloping bank below. Here we are at the upper or western extremity of the bay of Culross; and now the coast-line, which we have been

skirting, though sufficiently pleasing, assumes a somewhat tame and more monotonous character. Blair Castle with its woods, the rounded projection of Longannet Point, the mansion of Sands, the grounds reclaimed from the sea at the Inch, and lastly the town of Kincardine, with Tulliallan Castle immediately behind, and a flat tract of carse-land extending upwards to the creek at Kennet Pans, come all successively into view. Grangemouth with its shipping is seen on the opposite side, with the long tract of level ground which stretches upwards on both sides of the Forth as far as Stirling. A sort of second or upper pool in the estuary has now been reached, scarcely less beautiful than the lower one at Culross, and which is bordered by a splendid semi-circle of hills, the southern arc of which is formed by the Campsie range, with the Earl's Seat as its culminating point; whilst the northern is composed of the beautiful Ochils, with their enchanting contour of form, displaying in their fullest extent those curves and roundings which delight the eye of a painter. Still farther beyond, away to the west and north-west, appear the tops of the mighty Ben Lomond, Ben Ledi, Ben Voirlich, and the dusky mountains of the west Perthshire Highlands.

At the creek near Kennet Pans, about a mile above Kincardine, the limit of the parish of Tulliallan is reached, and our cruise, as far as the coast-line of "Perthshire on the Forth" is concerned, is concluded. Let us now endeavour to get a general view of the district from the land side.

Culross is situated about seven miles to the west of Dunfermline, and the intervening road passes through a finely wooded and richly cultivated country. The first, and at the same time one of the finest views of the town and its bay, is obtained from the Ness of Torryburn, an expanse of green turf at the west end of the village of the same name. It must have been from this point that William Cobbett had the view of Culross with which he seems to have been so much delighted. This fiery and restless politician, having at length attained the dignity of a seat in Parliament as member for Oldham, set out on a lecturing tour through the north of England and Scotland in the autumn of 1832. He gave the results of his experiences to the public in a small duodecimo volume, which is now rarely to be met with. Amid much political diatribe and sarcasm, he expresses himself generally in rather flattering terms on the subject of Scotland and the Scotch, and even seems to view things a little through a medium of the *couleur de rose*. He is particularly delighted with Scottish rural scenery—a subject, by the way, which Cobbett had a special knack in discoursing on, as evidenced in his charming 'Rural Rides.' Here are his remarks on Culross :—

"Quitting Torry, which is a very pretty place, we come, a little farther on, to the very beautiful house and park of Sir Robert Preston, who is now the owner of Culross, which lies away to our left on the side of a very beautiful bend in the Firth of Forth, in a little detached part of the great county of Perth, and divided from it by the small county of

Clackmannan, from the chief town of which Lord Erskine took his title. Culross is a very beautiful spot, rising up and bending round by the side of the water,—as beautiful a place as any to be found about the Isle of Wight or the Southampton Water. It was impossible for me to see it without thinking of the New Forest, Netley Abbey Woods, and particularly of that Holly Hill at which once resided that Lord Cochrane who was born at this Culross—it then being the estate of his father—and to reflect on whose treatment always fills me with indignation inexpressible."

The village of Newmills, in the parish of Torryburn, forms the westmost extremity of the county of Fife on the sea-shore. It abuts on the Newmill or Bluther burn, which separates Fife from Perthshire, and is crossed here by a fine stone bridge. Looking up the stream from the latter, a charming view is presented by the old bridge, unprovided with a parapet, beside which is a mill with its buildings, whilst behind rise the finely wooded heights of Torry, with the precipitous side of a whinstone quarry descending to the bank of the stream. The scene has already, I believe, been delineated on canvas by more than one artist. From Newmill Bridge two roads lead to Culross; one by Low Valleyfield, along the shore, and very picturesque and beautiful—whilst the other is no less charming of its kind, and runs terrace-fashion along and down the braes till it joins the shore road about a quarter of a mile to the east of the town. To compare great things with small, the traveller by this route—or, as it is commonly called, the high road between Newmills and Culross—may possibly, if he has traversed

the Western Riviera, be reminded of the far-famed Cornice Road which runs between Nice and Genoa. I would more especially refer to the portion between Nice and Mentone, the resemblance between which and the road we are now traversing has been remarked by more than one observer. We want, it is true, the high range of the Maritime Alps on the one side, and the boundless expanse of the Mediterranean stretching away to the horizon on the other. But still there is something to suggest a remembrance of that enchanting region of the sunny South. As in the Riviera, we traverse a terrace, and look down through the wooded slope below us on an array of houses and gardens, with the sea beyond; whilst on our right we have a beautiful belt of foliage which forms the crest of the braes.

We are now at the finger-post where the roads to Kincardine and Culross diverge; and descending the latter, we at length emerge on the level ground by the sea-shore, beside the Pow, at the east extremity of the burgh territory of Culross. The Pow has its history, and so has the fishing-cottage immediately adjoining, and the weird-looking ruin of Lord Bruce's Hospital opposite. But we cannot delay at present in recounting these. We continue our journey westwards—a row of fine lime-trees on our left, and on our right the house and garden of St Mungo's, with the hanging woods above, and the Abbey orchard extending along the slope of the hill, with that fine southern aspect which the monks of old knew so well how to value and

appropriate. Here we are now at the beginning of the town proper, and at the foot of the Newgate, that steep winding road that leads upwards to the church. As we proceed along the causeway, let us contemplate from it the grand view of the church and monastery, with the houses and gardens on the slope of the hill. Reaching the Sand Haven, as the open green square in front of the townhouse is termed, we are nearly at the west end of Culross, from which a very pretty road winds along the shore to Kincardine, a distance of about four miles. It passes through the hamlet of Blairburn, beneath the house and grounds of Dunimarle, with the recently erected Episcopal chapel of St Serf on the intervening acclivity. A remarkable sandstone rock juts out very sharply, and any one driving along requires to be very cautious in doubling it from either side. On the top, at a little distance within, can still be traced the foundations of the ancient castle of Dunimarle, whose name was afterwards changed to Castlehill, and again restored in recent times by the proprietrix, Mrs Erskine Shairp.

Continuing our journey, we pass the lands of Blair Castle, with its mansion on the height above, all beautifully wooded; and after obtaining a fine view of Culross from a bend in the road, we reach Blair Quarry, famous for its admirable freestone. Passing thence through a pretty bit of woodland, we arrive at the eastern corner of the parish of Tulliallan, which stretches here along the shore on the left hand for nearly half a mile, forming a

projecting wedge into Culross. On coming near the mansion-house of Sands, we fairly enter Tulliallan, and skirting on our left a very sombre pine-wood, we descend a sharp declivity, and find ourselves on a rather dreary road, leading past the Inch farm, which consists in great measure of a tract of land reclaimed from the Forth. Though this portion of the road is uninteresting in itself, and conveys a somewhat benumbing influence after the beautiful route which we have just been following, it commands, nevertheless, a fine view of the opposite carse of Falkirk, the richly wooded grounds of Dunmore, and the amphitheatre of hills in the distance. It is soon got over, and we find ourselves in Kincardine, the chief place in the parish of Tulliallan, and a burgh of barony, which gives a title to an earldom, now merged in that of Elgin. In itself, it appears to the passing stranger as a most uninteresting and depressing place, spread over, however, a considerable extent of ground, and containing many good houses and pretty gardens, which seem to vouch for a considerable degree of comfort at least, if not wealth. It appears to greater advantage from the water, where it has the addition of a beautiful background enclosing it, in the finely wooded rising grounds of Kennet and Tulliallan Castle; whilst the two church towers, the old and new, give a character to the place. The view, too, from the pier looking up the Forth, as already partly described, is singularly fine, taking in the upper pool of the Forth up to Alloa, and counteracting the

depressing feeling which, one would be inclined to think, an inhabitant can scarcely avoid occasionally experiencing. The streets are numerous, and generally sufficiently spacious, but have for the most part a forlorn and dejected aspect, without the least trace of the picturesque quaintness which gives so marked a character to Culross. The present town was in great measure created by the shipbuilding trade, which attained a wonderful prosperity in the end of the last and beginning of the present century, and engrossed the industry of the inhabitants so much, that a cursory perusal of the inscriptions in the burying-ground adjoining the old church of Tulliallan, would lead the visitor to the conclusion that almost every person in Kincardine had been a shipowner. Now, the trade has entirely disappeared, and scarcely a vessel is to be seen at Kincardine, except a few lying off in the roadstead that have come up there with cargoes of wood or occasionally grain, preparatory to their being conveyed by means of lighters to Alloa. A woollen factory, a rope and sail work, and a large paper-mill constructed out of the once famous distillery at Kilbagie, about two miles distant from the town, are the only sources of employment for the inhabitants in the way of trade and manufactures.

Having thus traversed the shore road from Culross to Kincardine, I shall make a further call on the patience of my reader, and request him to suppose himself again at the finger-post on the upper road to Kincardine, whence he has already diverged to visit

Culross. The route we are now about to follow lies chiefly across the ridge or table-land which slopes down on one side to the sea in the Valleyfield and Culross braes, and on the other to the valley of the Bluther and Grange burns, from which again, on the north, rises a wide acclivity of high land crested by the woods of Comrie, the moor of the Dow Craig, and the dark pine-forests of Brankston Grange and Bath. Here occur nearly the northern limits of this district of Perthshire, which, at the foot of the northern slope of the rising ground just mentioned, meets the parishes of Saline and Clackmannan, the latter forming also the western boundary of the parish of Tulliallan. It has been well remarked that the inland district of Culross bears considerable resemblance in its projection to that of an open book. Indeed from the sea to the Ochils the country presents very much of the same aspect—that is to say, a succession of parallel ridges of high land extending from east to west, with valleys between.

The road on which we have entered is of a rather different character from those which we have hitherto been traversing. Instead of a succession of heights and hollows such as the old road-makers generally showed as the result of their work, we have here, till we reach the brow of the hill above Kincardine, a long nearly level course of three miles, laid out in the beginning of the present century, as straight almost as an arrow. With the exception of the mile through Tulliallan forest, there is little wood on either side of the way; but the want of this is fully

made up by the succession of magnificent views with which we are treated. First, after passing the first milestone from Newmills, we see in the distance, on our left, the beautiful woods of Inzievar and Torry blending together in a dense mass of foliage. Nearer, in the hollow, appears Valleyfield House from a new point of view. To the north is the hamlet of Shiresmill, with the rising ground above, along which the Stirling and Dunfermline Railway passes, and still farther north, the dark ridge of the Dow Craig and adjoining pine-woods. The house of Brankston Grange, a castellated building, stands out finely on its platform of greensward against the background of dark fir-trees. Then, bounding the horizon on the north, is the verdant undulating ridge of the Ochils, with the smiling valley of Dollar at their foot, and the fine Salvator-Rosa-like ravines ascending their sides and separating the different members of the group. In one of these recesses on its platform, bordered by precipitous gullies, may be easily seen on a clear day, from the road we are travelling along, the grey walls and tower of Castle Campbell, that stronghold of the Argyll family burnt by Montrose in the great Civil War, in retaliation, as is said, of the destruction of "the bonnie house o' Airlie." Lovely always are the tints on the Ochils, whether it be the bright green of the pastures that clothe their sides, the golden gleam with which sunrise and sunset light them up in the mornings and evenings, or on those rare occasions when, shrouded in mist, they are partially illumined by the varying hues of

the rainbow. In winter they are, of course, often white with snow; and a hollow near the summit of one of them, behind Alva House, is noted for the length of the period during which the snow frequently remains there. When it is melted for the most part on the other hills of the range, it appears here on the crest of the hollow like a fine web or veil of lace. And I myself have seen, from our present standpoint, Lady Alva's Veil, as it is commonly called—diminished in size, it must be owned, to that of a pocket-handkerchief—as late as the month of June.

We are now arrived at the cross-roads where the Gallows Loan from Culross crosses the high road to Kincardine. Let us turn down the former for a little way, in order to reach a point from which the very finest view in the whole parish of Culross is obtained. On a clear day the whole valley of the Forth is spread out before the spectator, stretching away westwards as far as Stirling, which, with its rock and castle, is distinctly visible, and, nearer hand, the Abbey Craig above Cambuskenneth, and the Wallace Monument with its surmounting crown. The Ochils are to the north, terminating at the western extremity in the rounded peak of Dunmyat, referred to by Hector M'Neill in his poem of "Will and Jean":—

"Saft her smile like sweet May mornin',
Glintin' o'er Dunmyat's brow;
Sweet, wi' opening charms adornin'
Strevlin's lovely plain below."

Ben Cleuch, the highest summit of the Ochils, rising to the height of 2400 feet, is seen in the background to the north-east of Dunmyat; and beyond the latter hill, to the west, separated from it by the broad valley of the Allan, rises the mighty Ben Ledi, with its Druidical traditions. Through the opening between it and Dunmyat, the spectator, from his "coign of vantage" at the crest of the Gallows Loan of Culross, can get a glimpse in clear weather of the nearer Perthshire Grampians, including Ben Voirlich and Uam Var, celebrated in the 'Lady of the Lake.' Below him, on his left, is the church tower of Culross rising among the trees (but the town of Culross itself hidden from view by the projecting brae); the low country between Culross and Kincardine; the Firth of Forth, with the opposite shores of Linlithgowshire, the carses of Falkirk and Stirling, and the Campsie Hills. Then, shutting in the view on the extreme west beyond Stirling, is the great Ben Lomond himself, his companion the Cobbler at the head of Loch Long, and, stretching away to the north, a line of dark mountains reaching to Ben More and the hills about Glen Dochart.

Retracing our steps to the high road, we find ourselves again pursuing our way to Kincardine, and after a little enter the Tulliallan woods, which close in both sides of the road for about a mile. Nearly all the district we are crossing belongs to what used to be known as Culross Muir, a tract of country extending almost from Valleyfield to Kincardine, but of which the greater part is now either cultivated or

planted. It belonged all to the burgh of Culross, which still retains certain rights connected with it; but the property of the soil has long been alienated by a succession of grants at different times to the surrounding heritors, at small ground-rents, with the view of eking out the diminishing revenues of the corporation. Had she retained the moor in her own hands, and expended what she could spare in the process of reclamation, Culross might have been at the present day one of the richest corporations in Scotland. The western portion, which is little more than an expanse of heather and peat, is now covered with thick woods, traversed by many beautiful paths, resembling in many respects the mazes of the grand old forest of Fontainebleau. Roe and fallow deer abound, and are occasionally seen crossing the road; whilst the whirr of the capercailzie, or cock of the woods, as he flaps his large dusky wings, is frequently heard breaking the solitude.

Emerging from the woods, we reach an eminence a mile above Kincardine, beside the old ruined tower of Bordie; and here another magnificent prospect presents itself. In front of us is the grand amphitheatre of hills already referred to, with the town of Kincardine at our feet, and the glassy Forth winding its way downwards from Stirling between its richly cultivated banks and romantic scenery on either side, bearing no inapt resemblance to the Rhine.

From Kincardine a rich tract of carse-land extends up both sides of the Forth as far as Stirling; but

the portion of this comprised within the parish of Tulliallan is only about a mile square—reaching on the water-side as far as Kennet Pans, and on the land to Kilbagie, the once far-famed distillery whose liquor used to be so appreciated by Burns's Jolly Beggars, but which has now been converted into a paper manufactory. As we leave the town to proceed northwards, we see on our right the old and new churches of Tulliallan, each with its tower—the former unroofed and dismantled, standing on an eminence in the midst of the burying-ground, with the woods and castle of Tulliallan lying immediately behind. An older church still, but which exists only now as a family vault, is situated about a mile to the north, in a corner of Tulliallan Park, and has also its secluded little churchyard. I shall have more to say about them afterwards. A beautiful and wide road, finely shaded by trees, leads northwards from Kincardine to Dollar, and is crossed by the north road leading from Dunfermline to Alloa. On the edge of a woodland to our left are the ruins of the old castle of Tulliallan—an imposing-looking edifice, once the seat of the powerful family of the Blackadders, one of whom was the celebrated Archbishop Blackadder of Glasgow, founder of the south transept of the cathedral there, and also of St Mungo's Chapel at Culross. Having passed the quaint little hamlet of Dalquhamy, we ascend a rising ground and obtain another splendid view of the Forth as it winds round beneath the town and tower of Clackmannan, with the beautiful expanse

of country on the opposite shore, extending from the river-banks to the Campsies. A little progress farther, brings us to the junction of the Dunfermline north road, running east and west; and at a short distance to the north of this point, we reach the limit of Tulliallan parish a little to the south of Kincardine station.

We now retrace our steps to Garterry Toll, and turning to the east along the road which leads from Dunfermline, will continue our course to Comrie Bridge, traverse the north border of Culross and Tulliallan, and thus complete our perambulation of the seaboard district of Perthshire. For about a mile we keep ascending a hill; and having arrived at the top, turn round nearly at the point where the parish of Culross meets that of Tulliallan, and take "a long, lingering look behind," over the magnificent panorama that spreads itself out before us. It is in many respects similar to that from the Gallows Loan, but taken from a nearer standpoint to Stirling and the hills. A prominent object between us and the town just mentioned is the old tower of Clackmannan, the original seat of the Bruce family. It stands in its park, at the upper or western extremity of the town of Clackmannan, which straggles up to it along the ridge, and, with its red-tiled houses, conveys little sense of an aristocratic bearing. It is, however, the old county town, though now superseded by Alloa; and my reader may remember how the hero in one of Professor Aytoun's stories declares his intention of spending his holidays in

visiting some little-known localities—such as, among others, the town of Clackmannan, which he had often heard of, but had hitherto never met with any person by whom it had been actually seen. There it is, in the very substance and material.

Our present road is of rather a wild and solitary character, and it will be almost an event if we meet any one between this and Comrie village, a distance of nearly four miles. It inspires, however, the reverse of a depressing influence—having a fine mountain-flavour about it, and being, indeed, the one region in the district where such can be procured. On the left are the rising ground and dark pine-woods, with the white mansion of Brankston Grange, which we have already seen from the Kincardine road, that runs parallel with the present one at a distance of about three miles to the south. On the right extends a wide expanse of well-cultivated undulating country, with the valley through which the Bluther burn flows, past the hamlet of Shiresmill; whilst over the rising grounds a glimpse is obtained of the Firth of Forth and the opposite shores. As we ascend the hill from Bogside station below the Dow Craig, we take in at one glance nearly the whole of the parish; and at a distance of a mile between each, two roads branch off to the town of Culross—one by Balgownie Mains and the Gallows Loan, the other by Comrie Castle, East Grange station, and Shiresmill. On reaching the top, another mile of nearly level road conducts us to Comrie village—created in great measure of late

years by the now dismantled and abandoned Forth Iron-Works, immediately adjoining. Here the county of Fife is again reached—the road being crossed by a small stream, which, after separating the parishes of Saline and Carnock from Culross, joins in Comrie Dean what is known in this part of its course by the name of the How, and lower down of the Bluther burn. From this junction the name Comrie, denoting a confluence or union, is derived.

Having thus endeavoured to present my readers with a general outline of the two parishes, it may not be amiss to say something of their natural characteristics—and first as regards their geological formation.

The whole of Culross and Tulliallan rests on strata of sandstone, and throughout their entire extent there is not—as regards the surface, at all events—the least trace to be found of any trap or volcanic rock. Doubtless such rocks may exist, permeating the strata in the form of underground dikes or interruptions; but they have not yet, so far as I know, been reached. Beds of coal extend in every direction; but the upper or surface seams have been almost entirely worked out in bygone days—and little has as yet been effected in excavating them at a lower depth, though the Carron Company have now for several years been both proprietors and extensive tacksmen in the parish of Culross. Besides the sandstone, which crops out everywhere, there is little of any other stratified rock visible at the surface—though a bed of limestone manifests itself on the

sea-shore below Dunimarle; and there are extensive beds of clay richly charged with iron, which imparts its peculiar hue to many little rills that trickle down to the sea-shore. The soil of both parishes—as naturally results from its sandstone base and absence of the fertilising qualities derived from the disintegration of volcanic rocks—is for the most part originally of a thin and barren nature, though cultivation and industry have done wonders, and a great part of the once bleak and sterile Culross Muir has been enclosed and converted into corn-land. The braes sloping down to the Forth have a fine sunny exposure, and besides exhibiting some good pasture and arable land, are admirably adapted for gardening and orchard purposes. There is also a fine tract of alluvial land—some of it only reclaimed from the sea within the present century—which commences at New Pans, about a mile to the east of Kincardine, and extending along the Forth above the town, forms the western appendage or cantle of the parish of Tulliallan.

The situation of the two parishes is, on the whole, a very genial and sunny one—though, in the case of Culross, its advantages in this respect are chiefly confined to the southern district, with its verdant braes, crested with wood, that slope down to the Firth of Forth and form the upper curve of Culross bay. The upland regions partake more of a moorish and sterile, though sufficiently picturesque character, with the fine stretches of country that they present, extending up the Forth towards Stirling,

and the beautiful range of the Ochils in the background. Some resemblance may be found here between the parish of Culross and the county of Devonshire, in both of which two distinct climatic characters coexist — the one elevated, open, and bracing, the other low, sheltered, and genial. Just as in travelling through Devonshire a most striking change is experienced in passing from the mountain-plateau of Dartmoor or the breezy uplands on the southern coast to the rich valley of the Exe, or the fairy nooks of Torquay, Babbicombe, or Watcombe, so, *parva componere magnis*, a remembrance of the enchanted land of the south is called up in descending the steep path of the Newgate of Culross, between the terraced orchard of the Abbey and the town gardens with the houses at their feet.

As regards Tulliallan, it is both, in its general contour, of a less romantic character than Culross, and contains also, in proportion to its extent, a greater amount of rich and fertile land. A considerable portion of it on the west and south border consists of fine *carse* or rich alluvial soil, much of which has been reclaimed from the Forth within the present century. Almost, indeed the only, tract in the parish that belongs to the bleak or sterile order is the remnant of Culross Muir, which was only annexed to Tulliallan in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Belonging to the basin of the Forth, but separated from the Ochils by a series of intervening and parallel valleys which intercept and carry off the

waters from the higher grounds, the streams and brooks in the parish of Tulliallan are almost *nil;* whilst in Culross, with the exception of the Bluther burn, formed by the union of the Carnock and Grange burns, neither of which has any extraordinary length or declivity of course, there is little beyond a multitude of tiny rills, which are rarely swollen to any inconvenient or portentous dimensions. In consequence, the locality is little exposed to damage from floods, which sometimes cause tremendous havoc in the Devon valley at the foot of the Ochils, where a host of streams descend direct and precipitously from the mountains.

The same immunity which Culross and Tulliallan enjoy from great floods or cataclysms, is enjoyed by them likewise in regard to violent storms of any kind. Rarely is the region, at all events, lying along the Forth from Newmill Bridge to Kincardine, swept by any violent hurricane; whilst in winter the proximity of the sea, and the sheltered position of the district as regards the north and north-east, secure for it a mildness of temperature that will almost vie with that of Bute or Arran. Snow never lies long, and a very marked increase in the depth of the layer is generally perceptible in travelling from Culross to Dunfermline, and passing gradually from a milder to a severer climate. During the terrible winter of 1880-81, though this part of the country experienced amply the inclemency of the season, it was yet to a less extent than what prevailed in most parts of Scotland. The road along the shore

never became impassable through being blocked up with snow.

In further evidence of the mildness of the climate of Culross, it may be mentioned that in this neighbourhood many fruits and other productions which rarely ripen in Scotland, attain here maturity. The fig ripens on a wall with a southern exposure, and in the Abbey orchard there is a very old medlar-tree, which has evidently sprung from a much older stock, and which thus may even be carried back to the days of the monks, whose skill in horticulture is so well known, as well as their judgment in the selection of suitable sites for gardens and orchards. The tree in question not only bears abundantly, but likewise produces fruit that will compare with any medlars in Covent Garden market. The pears and peas of Culross have long been famous, and, till recently, the feuars of Low Valleyfield eked out their living respectably by the sale of their garden produce. The importation of large quantities of fruit from the Continent has seriously affected here, as in other parts of Scotland, the profits derived from such sources. But the raising of early vegetables and summer fruit, such as gooseberries and strawberries, is still pursued here by several individuals as a profitable avocation.

Another specialty of this region is the abundance of wild flowers and rare plants, which renders it throughout a paradise for the botanist—though unfortunately one or two species, formerly procurable, are now, from the wasteful manner in which they

have been gathered, scarcely to be found. The *Osmunda regalis* (royal or flowering fern) and other rare ferns (including the *Ophioglossum vulgatum* or adder's-tongue, and *Botrychium lunare* or moonwort), the *Pyrola* and *Trientalis*, the *Corallorhiza* or coral-root, the *Listera ovata* or Tway-blade, and the *Paris quadrifolia* or Paris-plant, have all their habitats here, and more especially in the woods of Blair Castle, to the west of Culross. The beautiful *Menyanthes trifoliata*, or bog-bean, the loveliest of our wild plants, used to grow abundantly in a pond near Bordie, but has recently been almost extirpated. What, however, may be termed the botanic specialty of Culross, and is, I believe, only to be found in one other locality in Scotland—on the Firth of Clyde, below Gourock—is the *Narcissus Pseudo-narcissus*, or wild daffodil, which covers a small cantle of mossy ground within the enclosure of Blair Castle, about fifty yards to the north of the public road, and about half-way between Dunimarle and Blair Quarry. In the early spring, when "daffodils begin to peer"—

> "Daffodils
> That come before the swallow dares,"

and take

> "The winds of March with beauty"—

an actual *blaze* of those magnificent flowers may be witnessed by the wayfarer at this spot as he journeys along the coast-road between Culross and Kincardine. Many of them have been planted in gardens, but

cultivation seems to have little effect on them of any kind. A number of them were planted by the late Sir James Colville in the grounds of Craigflower, adjoining the village of Torryburn. They are well known in English orchards—at least in Devonshire —as "Lent lilies."

The wild animals are generally such as belong to any fertile district in the Scottish Lowlands, thickly interspersed with woods, and call for no special remarks. Game is abundant, and the woods of Tulliallan are well stocked with fallow-deer. The capercailzie, or cock of the woods, has been introduced there of late years, and multiplied to a great extent. Capital cover for foxes prevails through most of this country, which might be hunted to great advantage, were Master Reynard allowed fair-play, and permitted a reasonable chance of existence. But he is fond of rabbits—a predilection which does not tally with the views of gamekeepers and their masters; and so both here and in the adjoining western district of Fife a crusade has been maintained against him, by which he has been nearly extirpated.

As regards the ordinary feathered tribes, small birds, including blackbirds, thrushes, and all the songsters, used to be rather inconveniently numerous about Culross, so as to occasion a good deal of trouble to the owners of gardens. The late severe winters and inclement springs have, however, perceptibly thinned their numbers. Magpies used to be very abundant—as when, to be afterwards related, they nearly brought Lord Dundonald's tutor into a

serious scrape—but are now very rare in this neighbourhood. Jays are rather plentiful, and herons not uncommon, whilst rooks and wood-pigeons are very abundant. The shores of the Forth are in the winter visited by flocks of plovers, wild ducks, and other water-fowl, that betake themselves hither when their pools on the upland moors are frozen.

No fishery of any kind is now maintained in this region of the Forth—though, besides the produce of the *cruives* (of which we shall hear something afterwards in the kirk-session records), there used to be great quantities of salmon taken by means of stake-nets on the shore opposite the estate of Blair. The employment of such engines is interdicted by law on any part of the river or estuary above Queensferry, whilst steam navigation is credited with having frightened away many of the common kinds of fish.

The town of Culross and immediate neighbourhood are copiously supplied with springs of excellent water, which filters down from the heights above through the strata of sandstone which permeate the whole of the parish and form the braes that slope down to Culross bay. In one or two districts, such as about Shiresmill, the supply is deficient, though doubtless plenty of good water might be obtained by boring. As regards Tulliallan, the paucity of subterraneous springs, as well as the absence of streams and rivulets, used to occasion great inconvenience in bygone days, both to the owners of mills and of the coal-works in the barony

of Kincardine. To supply this want of water-power, the two sheets of water known respectively as the Peffermill Dam and the Moor Dam or Tulliallan Water, were originally constructed so as to receive by means of ditches all the rain-water coming from the adjoining rising ground. The former of these covers sixty-six acres, and the latter fifty. They now serve merely as ornamental pieces of water, and are plentifully stocked with fish, including Loch Leven trout. They are also frequented by many kinds of rare wild-fowl, including swans, Egyptian geese, and others, which have here been introduced and acclimatised by the proprietrix, Lady W. G. Osborne Elphinston. Some years ago two wild swans, probably from this quarter, were seen in the winter, urging their way down the Firth by Queensferry.

There is one phenomenon in the Forth in this district which deserves special notice, and of which, unless it arises from some special configuration in the bed and shore of the river and estuary at this point, I cannot venture to speculate on the predisposing cause. I refer to the so-called *lakies*—those singular intermissions in the ebb and flow of the tides, which regularly manifest themselves, though they do not seem in modern times to have attracted much attention. The earliest account of them is given in Sir Robert Sibbald's 'History of Fife and Kinross,' originally published in 1710, where these phenomena are detailed at great length. A more concise description of the lakies is furnished in the

Old Statistical Account of the parish of Clackmannan, and may be here advantageously quoted :—

"The tides in the river Forth, for several miles both above and below Clackmannan, exhibit a phenomenon not to be found (it is said) in any other part of the globe. This is what the sailors call a *leaky tide*, which happens always in good weather during the neap-tides, and sometimes also during the spring-tides if the weather be uncommonly fine. When the water has flowed for three hours, it then runs back for about an hour and a half, nearly as far as when it began to flow. It returns immediately, and flows during another hour and a half to the same height it was at before ; and this change takes place both in the flood and ebb tides. So that there are actually double the number of tides in this river that are to be found anywhere else. In very boisterous weather, however, these leaky tides are by no means regular ; the water only swells and gorges without any perceptible current, as if the two tides were acting against each other. The cause of this singular phenomenon in the tides of the river Forth may be a subject of inquiry to the philosopher, for it has not yet been discovered."

To the above account I can only add my own personal testimony of what I have witnessed both at Kincardine pier and on the sea-shore at Blair Castle, about a mile above Culross. The incoming tide appeared suddenly to stop, and then to recede for a little distance, after which it again advanced as before. The lakie tides are not particularly manifest or much known about Culross, but are matters of universal experience at Kincardine, more especially to the boatmen who ply at its ferry, and with whom I have conversed on the subject. Their account

differs, however, from that quoted, inasmuch as they say that the lakie tide never recedes much more than two feet before returning on its regular course, and sometimes scarcely even does this, the phenomenon in such a case only displaying itself by the tide coming to a standstill for about an hour and a half. They also inform me that both in flood and ebb tides, when the lakie has run its course, the tide flows or recedes, as the case may be, to the proper limit of high or low water. As to the causes of this singular characteristic of the tides in the upper reaches of the Forth, they could give me no information.

The general salubrity of this district of Perthshire is incontestable, though possibly some might deem the climate of the shore-region too close and enervating in the summer-time, however mild and genial it might be found in the season of winter. Owing to the absence, indeed, of any active trade or manufacture, there is certainly a repose and sleepiness about Culross which, to one wearied with the toils and bustle of the great world, would render it a very haven of rest—a veritable Happy Valley or Vale of Avoca. To another it would appear dull and monotonous, from the want of excitement and variety. Removed now by the great changes in the art of locomotion from the main arteries of intercommunication, both Culross and Kincardine are probably much less visited by strangers than they were a hundred years ago. They are places through which no one passes, and the difficulty of access which

besets them renders them, along with their whole district, comparatively unknown. How far these circumstances may be changed by the laying down of the projected branch line of the Caledonian Railway along the coast from Alloa to Kirkcaldy, it is rather premature as yet to speculate on; but there can be little doubt that, when completed, a considerable alteration may be anticipated in the condition of all those little towns and villages along the Forth which have hitherto been so secluded from the great world. Easy access to a pleasant country from Stirling, Alloa, and even Edinburgh and Glasgow, would probably cause a great influx of population, with an inexhaustible demand for elegant villas and furnished lodgings. The same metamorphosis that has overtaken Callander, Oban, the Bridge of Allan, and other places, may be the fate of Culross; and though it may be attended with a great increase in commercial prosperity and the value of property, I cannot say that the prospect is one of unqualified satisfaction.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY.

THE earliest historical fact connected with the district of Perthshire under consideration is the erection of a line of forts by Agricola, the Roman general, in A.D. 81, across the isthmus between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. Sixty years afterwards, in A.D. 140, in the reign of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, his general, Lollius Urbicus, rebuilt Agricola's chain of forts, and consolidated them into a wall or rampart known as the Vallum Antonini, or Wall of Antoninus. Abutting on the Forth between Abercorn and Carriden, it stretched gradually upwards along the crest of the high ground which extends like a ridge above the town of Borrowstounness on the one side, and that of Linlithgow on the other. It next, descending a little, followed in a westerly direction the eminence overlooking the Forth behind Kinneil, commanding along the whole line that I have indicated a complete view of the country on the opposite shore, from the sea to the Ochils. Passing then by Polmont, Falkirk, and

Castlecary, it disappeared out of view from the Forth, and reaching the watershed between the estuaries, it crossed the valley of the Kelvin, and stretching onwards to the north of Glasgow by Duntocher, reached its termination near Bowling on the Clyde. A fort, supposed to have belonged to it, is still to be seen at Inneravon, opposite Culross; and up to the beginning of the present century at least, there were many fragments of the wall of Antoninus remaining above Borrowstounness and Kinneil. The Roman troops who manned the forts and guarded the country on the farther side of the wall from the attacks of the northern Caledonians, must have frequently had before their eyes the region on the other side of the Forth now comprised in the parishes of Culross and Tulliallan, and which in all probability then presented an expanse of dense forest.

There can be little doubt that Agricola and his soldiers must have frequently crossed the Firth from the southern shore to explore the unknown country on the opposite side, though it seems pretty certain that they never formed any settlement or left any memorials of themselves in this locality. A fanciful imagination might speculate on the possibility of the engagement with Galgacus and his Caledonians having been really at the foot of the Ochil Hills, considering the uncertainty that prevails as to the actual situation of the *Mons Grampius* of Tacitus. It is most advisable, certainly, to restrain one's self within definite and ascertainable limits, though some latitude perhaps will not be refused to conjecture.

That Agricola did cross the Forth, there can be no doubt whatever; and it is quite possible even, that when he marched his troops to the Tay, which we know he also reached, that he embarked them in galleys in the neighbourhood of Borrowstounness, landed them at Culross, and then proceeding in a north-easterly direction, possibly by Carnock and Saline, to Cleish and Kinross, he marched onwards to Perth and the Tay over the Wicks of Baiglie.

A more interesting, and in many respects also more satisfactory, investigation is commenced when we come to inquire into the first diffusion of Christianity over Scotland, and the part which Culross and its district plays in connection with this event. The whole subject of the earliest dawn of Christianity in Britain is involved in much obscurity, and it is not till the commencement of the fifth century that we can attain to any chronological precision in reference to its establishment in our country. There can be no doubt of its partial propagation by missionaries at a much earlier date—perhaps even within the first century of our era—and we have the clear and indubitable testimony of the early Christian fathers, including Tertullian and Origen, that at least by the commencement of the third century the truths of the Gospel had been conveyed to and accepted by many of the inhabitants of the British Isles. But it is not till the ultimate overthrow of paganism, and the final reception by the Roman empire of the new faith, that we hear of any general or abiding conver-

sion to its tenets in Britain, and more especially in Scotland, then known for the most part by the name of Caledonia. In considering the history of this period, it is necessary to bear carefully in mind the true meaning of the terms Scotland and the Scots, as otherwise we may be involved in very serious errors and misapprehensions. The Scots were not in reality the ancient inhabitants of North Britain, but an importation or invading colony from Ireland, who settled in Argyleshire in the beginning of the sixth century, and gradually extending their sway over the adjoining districts, ultimately both made themselves masters of the entire country and gave it their name. When Scotia or Scotland is spoken of by ancient writers, it is to be understood as denoting Ireland, or a large portion of that country inhabited by the Scots, who belonged to the Gaelic, and, as is generally believed, the elder branch of the Celtic race. They are supposed to have migrated from the east to the western parts of Europe, and to have supplanted an aboriginal population of Basques or some cognate race belonging to the Turanian branch of the human family. This last point is still involved in much obscurity; but there can be little doubt that, coeval with the earliest dawn of British history, both Ireland or Scotia, and North Britain or Caledonia, were inhabited by Gaelic-speaking communities,—though with regard to the country now denominated Scotland there was also a large intermixture of the Cymric element, existing in the form of various Welsh-speaking tribes, who may have been

found in different parts of the country, but more especially in the tract known by the name of Cumbria and Strathclyde, extending from the Clyde to the Solway, and comprising the whole of the west Lowlands of Scotland, together with the county of Cumberland in England.

The name Caledonia, of Celtic origin, denoting the country of woods and mountains, seems to have been the ancient name given by the natives to Scotland, and was retained by the Roman conquerors of Britain, though they were little acquainted to any extent with the country, and gained almost no footing whatever to the north of the Forth. They gave the inhabitants the name of Picti, or Picts, from their painted bodies—a derivation which, after all the learned disquisitions on the subject, is probably both the real and most natural explanation of the term, which, moreover, is now come to be generally regarded as convertible or synonymous with the ancient Caledonians. These, as we have already stated, seemed to have comprised both branches of the Celtic family, the Erse or Gaelic, and the Cymric or Welsh, the latter and their tongue being frequently spoken of as the ancient Britons and the ancient British language. It has indeed been maintained, on behalf of the Welsh or Cymri, that to them must be assigned the honour of the more ancient branch of the Celtic race in preference to the Gaels —that is to say, that they broke off at an earlier period than the latter from the primitive Aryan stem, and were already settled in Western Europe

before the arrival of the Gaelic-speaking Celts. The preponderance of evidence, however, seems to incline the other way; and at all events, the discussion of the question lies beyond the scope of my present inquiries.

Generally speaking, then, the majority of the ancient Caledonians, about the beginning of the fifth century of our era, were a race closely allied in language and race to the modern Highlanders; though in the following century, about A.D. 503, the immigration of the Scots, a Celtic tribe of the same stem from Ireland, caused some very important changes and complications, which were afterwards still further intensified by the colonisation of Scotland south of the Forth by the Saxons and Danes from the north of England. The Picts, a term which may be taken as a common appellation for the ancient Caledonians, whether belonging to the Gaelic or Cymric branches of Celts, comprised generally at this period the whole inhabitants of North Britain; whilst the Scots, who had not yet quitted their seats in Ireland, remained still the proper designation of the inhabitants of that country. After their arrival in Scotland, we find two rival kingdoms within North Britain — the Picts and Scots — contending, through a series of ages, for supremacy,—a contest which ultimately terminated in favour of the Scots, by whom the Picts were absorbed. The very name of the latter at last disappears from history.

To pursue this disquisition further would lead me

away from the subject and epoch which I have at present in hand. Suffice it, then, to say, that in the beginning of the fifth century the Picts, or Caledonians, were subdivided into two sections, styled respectively the Northern and Southern Picts; and that Culross and Tulliallan, as lying on the north side of the Forth, fall to be reckoned as belonging to the former of these subdivisions. The conversion of the Northern Picts to Christianity is generally attributed to St Columba, who arrived from Ireland in A.D. 565, and established a religious settlement at Iona; whilst that of the Southern Picts is ascribed to St Ninian, who came to Scotland in the end of the fourth century, and established himself at Whitherne in Galloway, where he is said to have built, in 397, the first stone church in North Britain, entitled "Candida Casa," or the White House. He died about A.D. 430.

Though the great apostle of the Northern Picts had not yet made his appearance, there were not wanting, as we shall see, zealous and faithful missionaries to act as his pioneers. In the very year following the death of St Ninian, or as some represent, six years previously, in A.D. 424, Pope Celestine sent Palladius on a mission of conversion to the Scots, by which term, in accordance with what has been already stated, we should understand the inhabitants of Ireland. But the writers of a later age, in referring to this period and the Scots, frequently apply the phrase, as in its modern sense, to the natives of North Britain. At all events, whether

Palladius visited Ireland or not, there seems no doubt of his having actually made a peregrination through Scotland, and in the course of it reaching Culross, where he found, in charge of a small religious community, a holy man, the celebrated St Serf.

This date of A.D. 424-431, or possibly one of some year more or less subsequent, is the first in which we find any historical reference to Culross. We are told that Palladius, in the course of his journeyings, came to this place, and there found St Serf engaged in his evangelistic work. He gave him his blessing, ordained him as his suffragan bishop over the land of Scotland, or Caledonia, of which Eugenius II. was then king. One principal object of the mission of Palladius to Britain seems to have been to extirpate the heresy of Pelagius in regard to the corruption of human nature, which the latter had, a short period previously, been actively engaged in diffusing over the West. Some have even identified Palladius with his contemporary St Patrick, the apostle of Ireland; but this is very doubtful. Another dubious statement regarding him is that made by Boece, who says that Palladius, after he had consecrated St Serf bishop, sent him on a mission to the Orkneys to instruct the natives of that remote locality in the faith. We have no further information regarding Palladius beyond that he died at Fordun, in the Mearns, about A.D. 450.

St Servanus, Serf, Serb, and vulgarly Sare—for by all these names he is known—is said to have been a native of Scotland, but of what district is

not stated. Much confusion and uncertainty attend his history, and so much is intermingled with it of pure fable and manifest anachronism, that it becomes very difficult to exhume the real man from the mass of absurdity and contradiction in which he has been involved. To clear a pathway through this entanglement, it may be as well to state first that there is little doubt of there having been two St Serfs, the elder of whom founded a religious community at Culross in the fifth century, was visited there and ordained bishop by Palladius, took charge of and brought up St Mungo, and finally died there at an advanced age—about, as is alleged, the year 540. It is probable enough, however, that either this last event must be referred to a somewhat earlier date, or he must have attained a very advanced age indeed, considering the time at which he had been ordained by Palladius. The circumstances, at all events, of his residence and death at Culross, and his having brought up St Mungo there within the sixth century, seem to be established beyond all doubt.

It is on the authority of the Aberdeen Breviary, which contains the offices for various saints' days, including those of St Mungo and St Serf, that we rest the fact of there having been two saints living at different periods who each bore the name of Serf or Servanus, and whose respective histories, real and legendary, have been frequently in great measure interchanged. The few authentic particulars regarding the elder, or *par excellence* Scottish St Serf, have

just been mentioned. As regards the younger, and in all respects quite as famous, saint of the name, he seems to have come originally from the East; and he is said by the Aberdeen Breviary to have been "an Israelite by nation," whilst Wynton, in his 'Cronykil,' styles him "the kynges sone of Kanaan." After visiting, first Alexandria, and then Rome, of which he is stated to have occupied the Papal See for seven years, he took solemn leave of the Eternal City, and passing through France and England, arrived, with a select band of companions, at the island of Inchkeith, in the Firth of Forth. Here he was received by the celebrated St Adamnan, the biographer of St Columba, and Abbot of Iona, who flourished about A.D. 680, and died in the beginning of the eighth century. Mixing up his history, then, with that of the elder St Serf, the narrative goes on to say that he visited successively Dysart, Kinneil, and Culross, and establishing himself at the last-named place, built a church there, and brought up St Mungo. Subsequently to this he is stated to have founded a religious house on an island in Loch Leven, which still bears his name, and was made over to him in gift by Brude, king of the Picts. Many miracles of an extraordinary character are ascribed to him; and various interviews and discussions between him and the Enemy of mankind—in which, of course, the saint comes off victorious—are likewise recorded. Finally, he is said to have returned to and died at Culross.

I have thus briefly summarised the histories of the

elder and younger St Serf, and shall in due course present them at greater length. But as regards what may be relied on as real and authentic in these, our positive information regarding the earlier or Scottish saint resolves itself, as already mentioned, into little more than the facts of his having lived and died at Culross, and trained up St Mungo, the patron saint of Glasgow; whilst in connection with the later one—the oriental missionary—the only circumstance that can be maintained with any degree of certainty is that of his having established the well-known religious community or priory of St Serf, on the island of that name in Loch Leven. It is quite possible indeed that, like his namesake, he may have had a connection with Culross, which is not twenty miles distant from Loch Leven.

The relations of the elder St Serf with St Mungo, the patron saint of Glasgow, are, as regards details, very much of a legendary character, but yet deserve notice, both from their reference to Culross, and the curious and interesting story which they present. It is, moreover, mainly in consequence of these relations that the history of his life at Culross takes any tangible form: for otherwise we are informed of nothing beyond the circumstances of his having come thither, as the first Christian missionary, to a wild and savage district; of his founding some kind of religious house—doubtless on the site of the subsequent abbey and church; and of his receiving episcopal ordination there from Palladius, on the occasion of the latter's mission to Scotland. He gathered

gradually round him a band of disciples and adherents, by whose ministrations the light of Christianity was gradually diffused over the adjoining country. This is absolutely all we can assert regarding St Serf, before the arrival of St Mungo—or rather, we should say, of St Mungo's mother, St Thenew.

Our principal information regarding St Mungo, or Kentigern, as he is also termed, is derived from his Life, written in Latin by Jocelyn, a monk of Furness, in Lancashire, who lived in the end of the twelfth century. With much that is fabulous and absurd, it doubtless contains, in its leading incidents, the true history of the saint. Much that is thus recorded is also embodied in the Aberdeen Breviary, which, in the office for St Mungo's Day (13th January), and likewise in that for St Thenew's Day (18th July), gives, in the lessons for each of these services, a summary of the principal events in the lives of St Mungo and his mother.

St Mungo, we are told, was the son of a British prince, who is variously named Eugenius, Eufuren, or Ewen, and was sovereign of the kingdom of Cumbria, or Strathclyde. His mother was Thenew, daughter of Loth, king of Lothian, who, having formed an illicit connection with Eugenius, found herself exposed to disgrace and the furious indignation of her father. A strange story was invented on her behalf by subsequent monkish chroniclers, and is gravely recorded, that, having been converted to Christianity, but not yet baptised, she conceived the idea of emulating the Blessed Virgin, and, like her,

became pregnant without any loss of chastity. Another account represents her as having suffered violence at the hands of Eugenius. Notwithstanding her rank and protestations of innocence, her father ordered her to be put to death, by being placed in a waggon and hurled down a precipitous descent, from the top of Dunpelder Law, in East Lothian. But the sainted princess was found at the bottom of the hill quite uninjured; and the cruel wrath of her pagan father being not yet appeased, she was placed in an old rotten boat, and driven out to sea from the port of Aberlady. Solitary and destitute, without the aid of either oars or rudder, but followed from the shore by the lamentations of many persons of both sexes, she was first carried by the wind and waves to the Isle of May, and from thence in a westerly direction up the Firth of Forth. A wondrous shoal of fishes, great and small, accompanied her on her voyage, which terminated at last in her frail bark coming to shore at Culross, at a spot which became afterwards hallowed as the landing-place of St Thenew, and birthplace of St Mungo. Weary and exhausted, she stepped on shore, and found a nearly extinguished fire, which had been lighted by some shepherds, and which she managed to rekindle. She found now the pangs of labour coming on, the night being already far advanced, and with the first dawn of morning she gave birth to a son. Meantime the venerable St Serf, being engaged, in his religious retreat on the summit of the hill above, with his morning devotions, heard suddenly the chanting

of angelic voices, and rushing forth with his disciples, found St Thenew on the sea-shore, with her newly born son lying beside her near the blazing fire. We are told that shepherds were at the same time watching their flocks in the neighbourhood; and there is evidently here a clumsy and revolting imitation of the narrative of the events connected with the birth of our Saviour. On seeing the mother and child, the chronicler proceeds to inform us that "St Serf exclaimed, in the vernacular tongue, 'Mochohe! Mochohe!' which in Latin is rendered, 'My dear! my dear!' adding, 'Blessed art thou who comest in the name of the Lord.'" The word in question is evidently another form of the Gaelic *Mo ghaol*, or "My love," sometimes explained also as "Dear friend," which was subsequently still further transformed into *Mungo*—the name by which Thenew's son became ultimately best known. On the occasion, however, of his baptism by St Serf, who administered the rite both to the infant and his mother, he bestowed on the former that of Kentigern, or head chief (from Gaelic *ceann*, head, and *tighearn*, chief or lord), and on the latter that of Thenew.

The infant boy who was thus heralded into the world under such extraordinary auspices, was carefully and affectionately brought up by his mother Thenew, who afterwards became a sharer of his renown. His education was, however, conducted by St Serf, who maintained a sort of training-college for clergymen and missionaries, and Kentigern or

Mungo became his favourite pupil. The favour of Heaven, and the high objects for which the young man was destined, were foreshadowed by the numerous miracles which he was enabled to perform. The first of these recorded is that in connection with a favourite robin-redbreast of his master St Serf. The pupils of the latter had been amusing themselves tossing it about from one to another, and in this process it had been killed. Kentigern restored the bird to life by laying its head to his bosom, making the sign of the cross over it, and offering up a prayer. On another occasion his fellow-pupils, who had no good feeling towards him from the favour in which he stood with St Serf, mischievously extinguished one night all the fires in the monastery and neighbourhood. It was the duty of each of them in turn to attend to the lighting of the church lamps for morning service; and it being now Kentigern's turn, he found to his dismay, on rising at cockcrow to perform this office, that no light could be procured. But the want was soon supplied. The youth pulled a branch of hazel, prayed, and the twig burst forth into a brilliant flame, illuminating the whole country round, and afterwards becoming miraculously extinguished as soon as it had served its purpose in supplying light for the church lamps. As a perpetuation of the miracle, it is alleged that the tree from which the branch had been taken increased into a grove, and if at any time a twig were pulled from it and breathed on, it burst into a flame through the merits of the saint. "And this," says Jocelyn, St Mungo's

biographer, "the natives of the country assert to be the peculiarity of the grove in question to the present day." Then in time of harvest, when the cook of the monastery had suddenly died, and St Serf had called on his disciple either to get dinner ready for the reapers or resuscitate the cook, Kentigern prayed, and an angel having appeared to assure him that his petition was granted, the dead man was restored to life.

But the same angel who had thus appeared to St Mungo now informed him that he must leave Culross and his beloved master, and that a great work of conversion was destined for him in the west country. He accordingly started on his journey without any warning or leave-taking; and having travelled up the bank of the Forth for a considerable way, arrived at last near the spot where it is now joined by the Teith—a stream which in those days, instead of falling into the river, flowed by a separate course into the estuary. The junction of the two streams was now miraculously effected for all future time. St Serf was not long in discovering the absence of Mungo, and setting out in pursuit of him. He overtook the fugitive just as he had managed to effect a passage over the Forth, by its waters, like those of the Red Sea, being collected in a heap on the right hand and the left, so as to leave a dry passage between. The waters returned to their place as soon as Mungo had crossed over, and then St Serf called piteously to him from the other side, reproaching him for quitting Culross in so uncere-

monious a fashion, and begging him at least to intercede for the performance of an additional miracle—that the waters of the Forth might again be divided to enable him (St Serf), old as he was, to join his former pupil as a humble disciple. But Mungo or Kentigern desired the old man to return to the place from which he came, invoking at the same time blessings on his head, and declaring that as regarded himself he must travel on to fulfil the great work which God had destined him for from his mother's womb. They then parted, St Serf returning to Culross, where he soon afterwards died, and Mungo proceeding on his journey.

The next stage in his expedition which Mungo is recorded to have reached was a place named Kernach (perhaps Carnock is meant, a locality between Stirling and Glasgow), and here he found an aged saint named Fergus, who was at the point of death, and expired in his arms. He procured somehow two bulls, yoked them to a waggon, and then placing the dead body thereon, allowed the animals to follow what course they pleased. They took the direction of the locality where Glasgow now stands, and there, in a cemetery formerly consecrated by St Ninian, the apostle of the Southern Picts, Kentigern deposited the body of the old man Fergus. Settling himself down in the same quarter, beside the Molendinar burn, he founded a church and established a religious community, which thus was the origin of the great see of Glasgow. He himself was ere long elected bishop of Cumbria or Strathclyde, and it is

said that the enclosure which he formed and the trees which he planted were to be seen as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century, or at least were still then known by his name.

The period generally assigned to St Mungo's birth is A.D. 514, and we may therefore place his settlement in Glasgow somewhere about the middle of the sixth century. A great lapse from Christianity into paganism seems to have been made a short time before by the inhabitants of the country, who had thus fallen away from the instruction imparted to them by St Ninian. St Mungo set himself vigorously to the task of re-establishing the faith throughout the western Lowlands of Scotland, and his labours were attended with great success. But he had a great struggle for a long while to maintain, being thwarted pertinaciously by the pagan king of Strathclyde, whose opposition was so formidable that for a time St Mungo deemed it advisable to retire from the country altogether, and take refuge in Wales. Here he laboured with great success, built a splendid monastery at Elgu, now Elwy, and made several journeys to Rome, receiving on the last of these occasions the parting blessing of Pope Gregory. Warned at last by an angel, and a pressing message having been sent him by King Rederech to return to Glasgow, he resolved to comply with the invitation, and finally quitted Wales, leaving St Asaph as his successor. His reappearance in the north was hailed with great enthusiasm and joy, and henceforward he prosecuted his pious labours without the

least interference, rendering the Christian faith triumphant, and gaining extended renown both for the sanctity of his life and the miracles which he wrought. Special notice is taken of a visit paid him by St Columba, the celebrated bishop of Iona, and apostle of the Northern Picts. On this occasion we are informed that as St Mungo advanced to meet his illustrious guest a halo shone round his head, and enabled him at once to be recognised among the surrounding crowd by St Columba. After a long life of piety and usefulness, St Mungo ended his days at Glasgow in 601; and according to another account, in 612. About all the dates of this period great uncertainty prevails, and an approximation to the truth is the utmost that can be attained.

St Mungo was interred within his own church or sacred enclosure at Glasgow, where the present majestic cathedral was erected in the twelfth century by Bishop Jocelyn, and in the crypt of which the tomb of the patron saint of the western metropolis is still to be seen. Many miracles were said to have been wrought at it after his death; and of those performed by the saint in his lifetime several have acquired great notoriety from the memorials of them being preserved on the arms of the city of Glasgow. The well-known device consists of a tree, with a bell suspended from one of the boughs, and a bird perched on another of the branches. There is also the representation of a fish with a ring in its mouth. The popular rhyme thus refers to the whole:—

"This is the tree that never grew;
This is the bird that never flew;
This is the bell that never rang;
This is the fish that never swam."

The tree is explained to be the hazel-bush which was miraculously kindled to supply St Mungo with light for the church lamps of Culross monastery. The bird is the robin-redbreast which the saint restored to life again, to flutter round and caress its master, St Serf, the patron saint of Culross. The bell suspended on the tree was specially brought by St Mungo from Rome, and used by him for summoning his faithful adherents to their devotions. The fish, or "drunken salmon" as it is sometimes termed in a variation of the popular ditty, has connected with it a specially piquant legend of its own. The queen of Cadzow, a district in the Middle Ward of Lanarkshire, though a wedded wife, had been so ill advised as to cast eyes of affection on a certain knight, and to give him a ring which her own husband had presented her with as a sacred token of affection. The scandal came to be bruited abroad; and the king hearing of it, invited his wife's paramour to hunt with him, and then, taking advantage of an opportunity when the knight was asleep, withdrew the ring from his finger and cast it into the Clyde. Returning home, he demanded the ring from the queen, threatening her with death in the event of her not producing it. She sent at once to the knight to crave its return, and not receiving it, was reduced to the utmost despair. In her distress

she had recourse to St Kentigern, professing the greatest contrition, and promising that she would never misconduct herself again if he would help her to recover the ring. The good-natured saint took compassion on the fair penitent; and sending one of his disciples to the river, ordered him to cast his rod and line, and bring alive to his master the first fish that he caught. He did so; and lo! on opening the fish's mouth, here was the identical ring which the queen had given away and the king cast into the Clyde! St Kentigern returned it to the lady, who thus escaped the fate with which she had been threatened.

Another of St Mungo's Glasgow miracles is recorded in connection with his return from Wales, when King Rederech, or Redrath, went forth with a vast crowd of people to welcome him. The saint being desirous of addressing the people, felt an inconvenience from the nature of the ground in making himself seen and heard. But this obstacle was soon removed by the earth on which he stood rising up into a little hillock, and he and his audience were thus both accommodated. Again, he inflicted a signal rebuke and punishment on a certain King Morken, whose avaricious disposition had led him to hoard up during a dearth an immense store of corn. St Mungo caused a great flood to carry the grain from the royal barns down the Clyde and up the Molendinar burn to the saint's feet, where it landed wholly dry and intact. And a rather frivolous exercise of his miraculous powers is re-

corded in his having produced a fresh dish of mulberries in winter, to bestow upon a foolish fellow who had demanded this present of the king.

St Mungo was noted for his asceticism and self-denial. It is said that after coming to years of discretion he never either ate flesh or drank wine—that he wore a hair shirt, and slept on the ground with a stone for his pillow. We are also told, what must in those days have perhaps appeared the greatest penance of all, that he would seat himself on a stone in cold water and sing psalms, before meeting his brethren at matins in the church. And yet, notwithstanding all this severity of life, he is asserted to have reached the patriarchal age of one hundred and eighty-five. Setting aside, however, all dubious or spurious virtues, and likewise all the absurd incidents which have been associated with him, there remains little reason to doubt that St Kentigern or Mungo was a man both of sterling worth and ability. A strong testimony to the excellence of his character is mentioned by Bishop Forbes as current to a late period in Aberdeenshire,—"It's like St Mungo's work, which was never done"—that is to say, that he found no rest but in doing good.

Besides the grand cathedral of Glasgow, of which city he is *par excellence* the patron saint, there are numerous churches dedicated to St Mungo, as well as places which bear his name. A parish in Dumfriesshire is so called, and so is an island in the Argyleshire Loch Leven, near Ballachulish, noteworthy as the ancient burial-place of the Macdonalds

of Glencoe. The spot on the sea-shore of Culross where St Thenew, his mother, landed and gave him birth, had a chapel in honour of St Mungo erected on it, probably at a very early period.[1] A subsequent one, the ruins of which still remain, was erected on the same site by Archbishop Blackadder in 1503. I shall have occasion to refer to it at a future stage.

The name of Kentigern, though it is the designation generally applied to this saint by hagiologists and foreigners, is rarely used by St Mungo's countrymen. A female saint named Kentigerna, the recluse of the island of Inch Cailleach in Loch Lomond, and the mother of St Fillan, seems to have borne no relationship to him, and must not be identified with his mother, St Thenew, who is said to have survived the period of her son's reaching manhood, and to have afterwards joined him in Glasgow, where she died. A chapel was erected in honour of St Thenew or Thanewke, not far from the modern Broomielaw at Glasgow; and by a curious but very natural corruption, the church which in late times was raised near the site of this building received the designation of St Enoch—a saint who, however worthy he is of being commemorated, has no place assigned him in any calendar. There was also a sacred well in the neighbourhood of Glasgow which was dedicated to St Thenew.

[1] This seems to be borne out by the following passage in the lesson for St Mungo's Day in the Aberdeen Breviary: "In quo loco insignis capella in ejus honore usque in hodiernum diem dedicata est."

The Aberdeen Breviary, in recording the fact of there being another St Serf besides the suffragan of Palladius and master of St Mungo, states that this younger St Serf was "an Israelite" by nation, and lived in the time of St Adamnan in the island of "Petmook," and that many extraordinary miracles were wrought by him, as recorded at length in his Life. What Life is here referred to cannot be stated with certainty, but the only biography now known to be in existence of St Serf is by an unknown hand, and full of anachronisms and absurdities. A considerable number of details, however, are preserved in the account of St Serf given in Wynton's 'Chronicle'; and as Wynton was prior in the early part of the fifteenth century of the religious community on St Serf's Island in Loch Leven, we would be apt to conclude that as holder of such an office he would be well acquainted with all the traditional history of the founder of this establishment. But whatever weight we give to this consideration, it is impossible that we can regard the individual whose adventures he records as identical with the St Serf who received Palladius, and gave shelter to St Thenew and her infant child. Nothing seems to be more clearly established than that the mission of Palladius took place in the fifth century, and that the birth of St Mungo is to be referred to the early part of the sixth. Now Wynton represents his St Serf as travelling from the land of Canaan through Alexandria and Constantinople to Rome, and there being elected Pope on the death of John III. in A.D. 573.

Then after a while, going northward to Britain, he lands at Inchkeith in the Firth of Forth, and there is received by St Adamnan, the Abbot of Iona, who lived in the end of the seventh century. The latter recommends him to settle in the district; and in compliance with this advice St Serf first crosses over to Dysart, then sails up the Firth to Kinneil near Borrowstounness, and lastly crosses over to Culross, where he resolved to settle, and, as Wynton informs us—

> "Begowth to red a ground,
> Quhare that he thoucht a kyrk to found."

But Brude, then king of the Picts, had no relish for so saintly a colonist, and in the bitterness of his enmity despatched a company of men to slay St Serf and his followers. The purpose was frustrated by a sudden fit of sore sickness which overtook the king, and for the cure of which he was indebted to the saint. The monarch was converted, and in testimony of grateful devotion made over the whole country around Culross to the Christian missionary, who thenceforward resided here in peace and honour. Referring to Wynton again, we are told :—

> "And thare he browcht up Saynt Mongowe,
> That syne wes Byschape of Glasgowe.
> Syne fra Culros he past ewyn
> To the Inche of Lowch Lewyn.
> The King Brud of devotyowne
> Made til Saynct Serf donatyowne
> Of that Inche, and he duelt thare
> Til sewyne yhere oure-passed were."

Then follows the record of more miracles wrought by him; but as these seem rather to belong to the younger St Serf, whose history is here intermingled with that of his predecessor, I shall defer notice of them for the present. Wynton's work is a poem or metrical chronicle, commencing with the creation of the world, and can have no claim to be regarded as authentic history; but in endeavouring to deduce from it something that may be accepted as real and trustworthy, it is at least allowable to form some conclusion by contrasting his statements with what admittedly belongs to the category of historical events. Thus, from a chronological point of view, it is quite impossible that the same St Serf could have been the guardian of St Mungo and the contemporary of St Adamnan. I accordingly conceive that I am justified in receiving, as stated in the Aberdeen Breviary, the existence of two St Serfs as an historical fact, and in connecting with the elder saint, as the leading circumstance of his life, the education of St Mungo, and with the younger one the establishment of the religious community at Loch Leven.

The "island of Petmook" referred to in the Aberdeen Breviary is unquestionably the island in Loch Leven now known as St Serf's Island—Petmook or Portmoak being the name of the adjoining parish on the east side of the loch. The miracles which this St Serf of Portmoak is reported to have performed are thus related by Wynton, though ascribed to the elder saint:—

"In Twlybothy[1] ane il Spyryte
A Crystyn man that tyme taryit.
Of that spyryte he wes than
Delyveryd throuch that haly man.
In Twlycultry,[2] til a wyfe
Twa sunnys he rasyd fra dede to lyf.
This haly man had a ram,
That he had fed up of a lame,[3]
And oysyd[4] hym to folow ay,
Quhare-ewyre he passyd in his way.
A thefe this schepe in Athren stall,[5]
And ete hym up in pesis all.
Quhen Saynct Serf hys ram had myst,
Quha that it stall, wes few that wyst:
On presumptyowne nevyrtheles,
He that it stall arestyd wes:
And til Saynt Serfe syne wes he broucht.
That schepe, he sayd, that he stall noucht,
And tharetil for to swere an athe,[6]
He sayd, that he wald noucht be lathe.[7]
Bot sone he worthyd[8] rede for schame:
The schepe thare bletyd in his wame.[9]
Swa was he tayntyd schamfully,
And at Saynt Serf askyd mercy.
In Dovyn[10] of devotyoune,
And prayene he slwe a fell dragowne.
Quhare he wes slayne, that plas wes ay
The dragownys den calit to this day."

After these somewhat extraordinary exercises of

[1] Tullibody, near Alloa.
[2] Tillicoultry in Clackmannanshire, at the foot of the Ochils.
[3] Lamb. [4] Used. [5] Stole.
[6] Oath. [7] Unwilling. [8] Became.
[9] Stomach.
[10] Generally explained as Dunning in Perthshire; but it might also be Devon or Glen Devon in the Ochils, where an old bridge bears the name of St Serf.

miraculous powers grave and whimsical, we are told—

"Quhil Saynt Serfe in-til a stede
Lay eftyre maytynis in hys bede,
The devil come, in full intent
For til fund hym wytht argument."

The devil propounds various theological questions to St Serf, with the view of puzzling and worsting him in argument. But his satanic majesty is utterly discomfited :—

"Than saw the devyl that he cowde nocht,
Wyth all the wylis that he soucht,
Ourecum Saynct Serf, he sayd than,
He kend hym for a wys man,
For-thi he thare gave hym qwyte,
For he wan at hym na profyte.
Saynct Serf sayd, 'Thou wrech ga
Fra this stede, and noy na ma
In to this stede, I byd the.'
Suddenly theyne passyd he.
Fra that stede he held hym away,
And nevyr wes sene thare til this day."

And here is the end of the Prior of Loch Leven's story of St Serf :—

"Eftyre all this Saynct Serfe past
West on til Culros als fast.
And he hys state quhen that he knewe,
That til hys endyng nere he drewe,
The wrechyd warld he for-suke.
Hys Sacramentis thare all he tuke,
With schryfte and full contrityoune;
He yhald wyth gud devotyowne,
His cors til halouyd sepulture,
And hys saule til the Creature."

In his 'Kalendar of Scottish Saints,' Bishop Forbes says that the remains of St Serf were at Culross in 1530. He also states that the saint died at Dunning (the place where he is reported to have killed the dragon), and his body was conveyed to Culross. It is quite possible, indeed, that the body of the younger St Serf may have been carried thither and deposited beside that of his namesake, whose reputation had been greatly enhanced by his connection with St Mungo, the celebrated bishop of Strathclyde, who then had not been long dead. The circumstance, too, of the elder and the younger St Serf being both interred at Culross, may account for their histories having been blended together.

St Serf is regarded as the patron saint of Culross, and its Abbey Church is dedicated to him and the Virgin. His festival day is the 1st of July, which up to the Reformation and even beyond it was observed with great ceremony, the inhabitants walking in procession and carrying branches of trees. Frequent references are also made to it as a legal term in ancient documents connected with the locality.

In the notes appended by Macpherson to Wynton's 'Chronicle,' he remarks in reference to the saint now under consideration: "The era here assigned to Serf rather disagrees with the legendary story, which makes his disciple St Mungo (or Kentigern) contemporary with Columba, who died in 597. But the later saintologists had a rage for burying all their great saints together. St Serf was perhaps a

clergyman of Strath-Cluyd or Dalrieta taken in war by the Picts, and consequently a slave or serf, whose superior knowledge and sanctity raised him to consequence and veneration among a rude people." It is possible enough that this hypothesis may have a foundation in fact.

Wynton's chronology regarding St Mungo tallies more closely with the period generally ascribed to him, than with that attributed to his master St Serf. The patron saint of Glasgow is represented as contemporary with St Augustin, who in A.D. 597 was sent by Pope Gregory to Britain to convert the men of Kent:—

> "Saynct Acostyne gert thame of Ingland
> The Reule of Pask[1] welle understand,
> That befor thai had in Were,
> Quhill he thare-of made knawlage clere.
> And in his tyme Saynct Mungowe
> Wes Byschap lyvand of Glasgowe."

In concluding this chapter and the history of the first epoch connected with Culross, it may be as well to take notice of the condition of the Church at this period, and the body of ecclesiastics to which St Serf and St Mungo belonged. There can be no doubt of the fact that in those days the corruptions of the Church had by no means developed themselves to such an extent as they afterwards attained. Her system of doctrine and service was still comparatively pure—though the theory which has been maintained by many, of her still exhibiting in the

[1] Easter.

remote regions of Western Europe an example of primitive apostolic simplicity, must be rejected as a fond imagination. It has been supposed that St Serf and St Mungo, St Columba and St Adamnan, professed a simple faith, nearly according with the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, as originally propounded by their Founder and His disciples, and far removed from the cumbered and corrupt system gradually built up by the Church of Rome. They are asserted to have preserved for centuries in these Northern retreats the original purity of the faith, and to have even assimilated their ecclesiastical polity to something resembling the Presbyterian model. After bearing faithful testimony to the truth for a long period of years, it is alleged that they were gradually overpowered by the growing influence of Rome, and by the end of the twelfth century their system had entirely disappeared. The name and rule of the CULDEES, to which these primitive ecclesiastics belonged, is often spoken of as denoting a sort of golden age in the history of the early Scottish Church.

It may be pleasant to contemplate such a picture as is here presented, but it is one for which there appears to be no historical foundation. Bede and other ancient writers, in referring to the early British Church, make no statement of its having departed from the Christian faith as expounded at Rome, and speak only of its clergy wearing a different tonsure, and celebrating Easter at a different period from that observed by the faithful. From

the way in which Bede reiterates this statement in regard to different communities, it seems clear that he had no other allegation to make against them on the score of heresy. He indeed seems to regard these two differences in the mode of shaving the head and the time of celebrating Easter as rather weighty matters; but the fact of his confining his remarks to these alone, would seem to indicate that no other discrepancy existed.

By those who would claim for the early Scottish Church a Presbyterian or at least Protestant character, the term *Culdees* has been generally understood as denoting a peculiar order or sect of ecclesiastics. But for this conclusion no ground can be produced. The word simply means servants or friends of God, and was used as the common vernacular epithet in those days for the clergy wherever Celtic was spoken. It is derived from the Celtic *Céle-Dé* (servants of God), and is the same with the Gaelic *gille*, a servant, and *Dé*, the genitive of *Dia*, God. There is also a Gaelic word, *Ceile*, denoting spouse, husband, or servant, which would form a similar compound with *Dé*. The Celtic term *Céle-Dé* has been Latinised into *Keledei* or *Colidei*, which being explained as *Cultores Dei* (worshippers of God), the word with its modern English form *Culdees* has been erroneously ascribed to a Latin origin. It seems to have been imported from Ireland into Scotland, and to have been employed in many different ways. But there is no evidence whatever to show that it denoted a particular order of

clergy holding tenets alien to those of the Romish Church.

The earliest reference to the Scottish Culdees occurs in Jocelyn's 'Life of St Kentigern,' and is quoted by Dr Reeves from a MS. preserved in Primate Marsh's library in Dublin, which differs slightly from that edited by Pinkerton. Speaking of St Serf, Jocelyn says:—

"Vir Dei itaque perplures ut diximus discipulos adunaverat. Quos divinæ legis sacris literis erudiens, verbo et exemplo ad vitæ sanctitatem instituit. De quibus co-operarios in messam dominicam destinare proposuerat. Hi omnes emulabantur Dei emulatione vitam et doctrinam ejus, jejuniis et vigiliis sævis assueti, psalmis et orationibus, et divinæ legis meditationem intenti, labore manuali certis temporibus et horis occupati. More namque primitivæ ecclesiæ sub apostolis et eorum successoribus, nihil proprium possidentes, satis sobrie juste et pie et continentissime viventes, in singulis tamen casulis ex quo ætate et sapientia maturaverant, sicut et ipse sanctus Kentigernus, commorabantur. Unde et singulares clerici a vulgo Calledei nuncupabantur."

"The man of God [St Serf] had accordingly assembled together, as we have said, several disciples, whom he instructed in the sacred letters of the divine law, and moulded by precept and example to holiness of life. They all, with a holy emulation, imitated his life and doctrine, being inured to severe fastings and watchings, with psalms and prayers; and whilst intent on the meditation of the divine law, were at certain times and hours occupied in manual labour. For, possessing nothing of their own, after the manner of the primitive Church in the times of the apostles and their successors, they passed a life of the highest sobriety, righteousness, piety, and continence; and from the period that they arrived at full age and discretion, they each occupied

a little separate dwelling, as did also St Kentigern himself. Hence these solitary ecclesiastics received from the common people the designation of *Calledei.*"

Jocelyn speaks here in a somewhat confused fashion, as if the Calledei or Culdees were so called from their solitary mode of life; and possibly this statement of his may have given rise to the derivation of the term, urged by some, as from *cill*, a cell or church. But the origin already indicated seems to be far the preferable one, as denoting the appellation which the common people would naturally bestow on these men as servants of the Lord; and Jocelyn living at such a distance of time from its first introduction, might be as puzzled to account for it as antiquarians of a much more recent date.

At this early period of the Church's history, celibacy, though highly recommended, was not actually imperative on the clergy, and for a long time subsequent to this the priests both in England and Scotland seem to have been allowed to marry. In both countries the tenet was gradually established —not without great opposition in South Britain at all events, as we learn from the chronicles of the Saxon age. Jocelyn, in bearing testimony in the above passage to the righteousness and purity of life among the Culdee clergy, leaves us to infer that celibacy was strictly practised. But it is questionable whether this was the case at a later period of their history.

The early Christian missionaries evinced a great partiality for settling in remote and exposed situa-

tions, and more especially on islands. Thus St Columba established himself on the remote island of Iona, and in the course of his peregrinations seems to have tarried for a while in and given his name to the island of Inchcolm, in the Firth of Forth. At a subsequent period his biographer, St Adamnan, is reported to have resided on Inchkeith, and there received the younger St Serf on his arrival in Scotland from Rome; whilst we find the Bass tenanted by St Baldred, the apostle of the Lothians; and St Ebba or Abb gives her name to the bleak headland at the north-east extremity of Berwickshire, where the ruins of her cell are still to be seen. It would almost seem as if some idea of asceticism or self-discipline had induced those persons to settle on such dreary situations, which certainly afforded them no security, as was demonstrated in many instances, from the attacks of pagan hordes both by land and sea. As regards St Serf, though his successors the monks converted his settlement at Culross into a pleasant spot, it was in all probability in the first instance but a dreary and lonely abode.

Culross and the island in Loch Leven have often been credited as having been the places where the tenets ascribed to the Culdees were respectively developed and matured. This notion is equally erroneous with the more generally diffused one of the Culdees having formed a special order of their own, distinct from the ordinary Romish clergy of the day. The elder and younger St Serf were doubtless both men of an exalted character, who accomplished

each a good work. Their histories are blended together, and it is difficult to distinguish them. With one or both the district of Culross and the region between the Ochil Hills and the Firth of Forth are closely connected.[1]

[1] The churches of Culross, Alva, Clackmannan, and Dunning are dedicated to St Serf, and there is a singular old bridge in Glen Devon which bears his name—to say nothing of St Serf's Isle in Loch Leven, with the ruins on it of the old priory.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF CULROSS FROM THE SEVENTH CENTURY TO THE REFORMATION.

THE curtain has risen for a brief space on the history of Culross, to exhibit in a hazy and indistinct scene some of the earlier phases and characteristics with which the place is associated. It now suddenly falls upon the death of the younger St Serf, and for hundreds of years to come there is nothing to record but an absolute darkness and historical void. No doubt the original establishment founded by the elder saint continued to flourish under the superintendence of his successors, and it is more than probable that a connection with the religious house on the island in Loch Leven was maintained both by the Eastern missionary who originally settled it, and the Culdee clergy who filled his office there after his death. But as regards the church of Culross itself and its ministers, the persons who worshipped there, or the condition generally of the surrounding district and its inhabi-

tants, we must rest contented for many centuries with mere conjecture.

Reference has already been made to the struggles for supremacy between the Picts and the Scots, resulting in the final victory of the latter, the absorption of the vanquished by their conquerors, and the disappearance of the Picts, as the ancient appellation of the Caledonians, from history. There were also two other important conquests or incorporations effected by the Scots—those of the British kingdom of Strathclyde in the west, and the Saxons of Berwickshire and the Lothians in the east Lowlands. With these last was intermingled a strong infusion of Danish or Old Norse blood, effected by the invasions and settlements of the Northmen in the region lying between the Humber and the Firth of Forth. When all these annexations were completed, the unity of Scotland as a kingdom (with an exception immediately to be noticed) may be said to have been accomplished. And this would seem to have taken place under King Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, in the tenth century.

The grandson of the Malcolm just mentioned was the celebrated Duncan, whose tragic fate has been immortalised by Shakespeare; and it is in his reign, probably about A.D. 1038, that the name of Culross occurs for the first time in Scottish history since the days of St Serf and St Mungo.

Though Duncan's grandfather, Malcolm II., had in a manner finally incorporated into one sovereignty the contending dynasties in Scotland, there was still

a formidable power to contend with in the fierce Northmen or Danes who had settlements in Shetland, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides, and, in addition, harassed the east coasts of Britain by repeated invasions, in which they frequently perpetrated great cruelties. A short time previous to this, Sweyn, king of Norway and Denmark, had accomplished the conquest of England, and banishment to France of King Ethelred. He did not, however, long survive it, and died, bequeathing to his son Harold England, and to another son named Sweyn his ancestral kingdom of Norway, whilst he left Denmark to a third son, the celebrated Canute. This last succeeded ere long in making himself master of England, which Ethelred had managed to regain from his brother Harold and keep possession of for a short time. He continued to the end of his life sovereign both of England and Denmark.

Meanwhile Canute's brother Sweyn, as if emulous of his example, or, as is also alleged, to revenge some previous defeats in which his uncle and other Norse nobles had perished, organised an expedition against Scotland. Setting sail from Norway, he landed in Fife, and marching westwards through that province, ravaged the country with the greatest cruelty. He advanced towards the neighbourhood of Culross, and, according to tradition, formed an encampment on the east side of what used to be termed the Moor Dam, though now commonly known as Tulliallan Water. It is situated about a mile from the town of Kincardine, not far from the modern mansion of

Tulliallan Castle, and near the western extremity of the ancient moor of Culross. Some further particulars regarding it, as well as other two ancient camps in this neighbourhood, will be found in a subsequent chapter.

Duncan is said to have been a man of rather a lethargic disposition, but on this occasion he bestirred himself to encounter the emergency. Assembling his forces and arranging them in three divisions, he intrusted the first to the famous or infamous Macbeth, himself took the command of the main body, and left the rear to be brought up by Banquo, who, like the king, was destined ere long to be the victim of Macbeth's treachery. However, for the present no fault could fairly be found either with the fidelity or military capabilities of the latter. The Scottish army encamped at a spot long afterwards known as Duncan's Camp, on the estate of Blair Castle, about three miles from Culross. Advancing to meet each other, the two opposing armies of Scots and Danes encountered at a place nearly equidistant between the two camps, about half a mile from each, and about three hundred yards due north of the farm of Bordie. Here is still to be seen a stone with two rectangular holes hollowed out in it, and known as the Standard stone, in which it is said the Scottish standard was fixed on the occasion of the battle of Culross. The engagement was long and bloody, and there is a tradition that the Caverns burn, which flows down into the sea from this neighbourhood, ran red with blood for twenty-

four hours. But even to the present day the rills in this quarter have a reddish appearance, from the beds of ironstone over which they run—and so possibly the story may have arisen.

The Danes were victorious, but withal so broken and exhausted that they could make no head in pursuit of Duncan and his army, who retreated northwards to Perth, whilst Macbeth employed himself in collecting reinforcements. Sweyn caused his troops to march in the same direction, and arriving at Perth, commenced a siege of its castle, in which Duncan had ensconced himself. The monarch, it is alleged, then endeavoured to get the better of his foes by cunning; and a curious and romantic story is recorded in reference to this, which it may not be amiss to give in the words of the old chronicler Holinshed, who embodies the narrative of the Scottish historians Boece and Major:—

"In the mean time Duncane fell in fayned communication with Sueno, as though he would have yielded up the castell into his handes under certaine conditions; and this did he to drive time and to put his enemies out of all suspicion of any enterprisement against them till all things were brought to passe that might serve for the purpose.

"At length, when they were fallen at a poynt for rendring up the holde, Duncane offered to send forth of the castell into the campe greate provision of vitayles to refresh the army; whiche offer was gladly accepted of the Danes, for that they had bene in great penurie of sustenance many days before.

"The Scots hereupon tooke the juyce of Mekilwort[1] beries

[1] Deadly nightshade—*Atropa belladonna.*

and mixed the same in theyr ale and bread, sending it thus spiced and confectioned in great abundance unto their enemies.

"They, rejoycing that they had got meate and drinke sufficient to satisfie their bellies, fell to eating and drinking after such greedy wise, that it seemed they strove who might devoure and swallow up most, till the operation of the beries sped in such sorte through all the partes of their bodies, that they were in the ende brought into a fast dead sleepe, that in maner it was impossible to awake them.

"Then forthwith Duncan sent unto Makbeth, commanding him with all diligence to come and set upon the enemies, being in easie point to be overcome.

"Makbeth, making no delay, came with his people to the place where his enemies were lodged, and first killing the watche, afterwards entred the campe, and made such slaughter on all sides, without any resistance, that it was a wonderful matter to behold, for the Danes were so heavy of sleep that the most part of them were slayne and never stirred; others that were awakened eyther by the noyse or otherwayes foirth,[1] were so amazed and dizzy-headed upon their wakening, that they were not able to make any defence: so that of the whole numbers there escaped no moe but Sueno himselfe and tenne other persons, by whose helpe he got to his shippes lying at rode at the mouth of Tay.

"The most part of the maryners, when they heard what plentie of meate and drinke the Scots had sent unto the campe, came from the sea thyther to be partakers therof, and so were slayn amongst theyr fellowes: by means whereof, when Sueno perceyved how, through lack of maryners, he should not be able to convey away his navie, he furnished one ship thoroughly with such as were lefte, and in the same sayled back into Norway, cursing the time that he set forward on this unfortunate journey."

Though this story has probably been embellished

[1] Forth or outside.

and lost nothing in the telling, it is likely enough to have been founded on a real incident. No reasonable doubt can, at all events, be entertained of Sweyn's partial victory at Culross, of his pursuit of the Scottish army to Perth, and of his ultimate discomfiture and retreat, in consequence either of superior prowess or generalship on the part of his foes. The narrative goes on to say that the Scots were busily engaged in returning thanks to Heaven for their deliverance from the invaders, when the news arrived that a Danish fleet had landed at Kinghorn, sent by King Canute of England to revenge the defeat of his brother Sweyn. The troops had landed from the ships, and were actively at work in devastating the surrounding country, when Macbeth and Banquo encountered them with the royal army and drove them in great disorder to their vessels. An agreement, it is said, was entered into, whereby, on payment of a large sum of money, the rites of sepulture were secured for the Danish dead on the island of St Colme. A treaty of peace was also concluded between the Scots and Danes, by which the latter bound themselves to refrain from any further invasions of Scotland.

It may here be observed that it is not improbable that what is known as the battle of Inverkeithing was fought with the Danes on this occasion. Inverkeithing is not ten miles from Kinghorn, the scene of the invaders' debarkation, and a large upright stone is or was existing in the neighbourhood of the former town, said to have been erected in commemo-

ration of the engagement. Such stones are still standing in many places along the north shores of the Firth of Forth, and it is very probable that they are all connected with the Danish incursions. One specially may be mentioned standing near Torryburn, the parish adjoining Culross, in a field which is still known by the name of the *Tuilzie* or Battle Park. And a tradition prevails that after the battle of Inverkeithing the Danish army or a portion of it retreated to a station in the north of Culross parish, where they erected the earthwork or camp of Castlehill, still existing near the Burrowine farm.

It only remains to be mentioned that not long after the battle of Culross, and subsequent departure of the Danes from Scotland, the celebrated encounter of Macbeth and Banquo with the three witches is alleged to have taken place on a heath near Forres. Whatever credit we may attach to this story, there can be no doubt of the murder of King Duncan by Macbeth, and the usurpation of the crown by the latter about A.D. 1040.

No further mention is made of Culross from the date of the battle on the moor to the foundation of the monastery by Malcolm, Earl of Fife, in 1217, in the reign of Alexander II. Nothing almost is recorded beyond this circumstance; but there can be no doubt that the ruins still existing of the conventual buildings, as well as portions of the present Abbey Church, are those of the original edifice of the thirteenth century. They will after-

wards be described in detail along with other monuments of Culross.

The above-mentioned Malcolm was the seventh Earl of Fife, and succeeded his father Duncan, the sixth earl, in 1203. The first who bore the title was the celebrated Macduff, Thane of Fife, who received it from Malcolm Canmore, and is supposed to have held lands in the neighbourhood of Culross, it having even been conjectured that Castlehill or Dunimarle on the sea-shore, about half a mile to the west of the town, was the scene of the murder of Lady Macduff and her children, by order of Macbeth. But this is an assertion of very questionable probability. Earl Malcolm died in 1229, and was buried in the church of the monastery which he had founded, but nothing is now known of his tomb.

Shortly before the foundation of Culross Abbey, a great and important change had taken place in the constitution of the Scottish Church. The old Culdee clergy had been supplanted by a different order of ecclesiastics, and the occupants of the establishments founded by the two St Serfs at Culross and Loch Leven, as well as of other religious houses throughout the country, had been transformed into canons regular, or at least had received orders to accommodate themselves to such a transformation. This change was mainly owing, in the first instance, to the introduction of English usages both in ecclesiastical and civil matters under Queen Margaret, wife of Malcolm Canmore; and afterwards to the more thorough alterations accomplished by her sons Alex-

ander and David. Though, as I have already stated, the doctrine and practice of the earlier Culdees differed little from the general tenets of the Romish Church of the day, there seems no doubt that in process of time a considerable alteration had taken place, and a great revolution, possibly in some respects reformation, had been effected by Queen Margaret and her sons. It was probably a revolution of a similar character to that which had been brought about in England by St Dunstan and his followers at an earlier period, though opinions will differ as to its merits or extent. But the results of the revolution in North Britain were the disappearance both of the Culdees and of several distinctive features of the ancient Scottish Church. Of the latter circumstance a striking instance occurs in the 'Culross Kalendar,' edited by Bishop Forbes, in which, though an entry is inserted for St Serf as the patron saint of the place on 1st July, there is none either for St Kentigern or his mother St Thenew. These new Celtic saints were commonly excluded from the calendars of later date compiled for the religious houses of Scotland, after they had been generally assimilated to the rules of the English establishments.

Some account of the procedure in transforming the Culdee religious houses into communities of canons regular may not be uninteresting. The plan was to import into one of these establishments a colony of monks from a distant quarter, who had been trained to the new system of monastic life that

had now generally come into vogue, and thus to engraft, as it were, a new scion on the old stock. The old clergy, as original occupants in possession of the house, were informed that they had been handed over to a new jurisdiction, and were expected to conform themselves to the rules and discipline introduced by their new associates. If they failed to do so peacefully, they would render themselves liable to expulsion. Here is what King David says with regard to the transference of St Serf's Isle in Loch Leven and its Culdee monastery to the Priory of St Andrews:—

"Know ye that I have granted and given to the Canons of St Andrews the island in Loch Leven, that there they may institute the canonical order, and that the Culdees who shall be found there may continue in peace with them and under them, provided they are willing to live according to rule. If any of these presume to resist this order, I will and command that they be expelled from the island."[1]

A similar course, though without any displacement of former tenants, had been taken by David's brother, Alexander I., when he founded the celebrated monastery of Inchcolm, on the island of that name in the Firth of Forth, in grateful commemoration of his escape from shipwreck. He brought thither a colony of monks from the Abbey of Scone, which he himself had built some years previously and settled with a company of Augustine canons from St Oswalds at Nostell, near Pontefract.

[1] The above is a translation of a passage in a Latin charter contained in the 'Registrum Prioratus S. Andreæ.'

And generally on the foundation of new monasteries we find that a society of canons regular was brought from a distance to occupy the new edifice, in preference to the old-fashioned Culdee clergy, who had been the previous denizens of the site and neighbourhood.

According to Father Hay's gleanings in his 'Scotia Sacra,' Culross Abbey was founded by Malcolm, Earl of Fife, on 23d February 1216—a date which may seem to conflict a little with that of 1217, mentioned by Major and other chroniclers; but it is easily reconciled by keeping in mind that the year was anciently only held to commence on 25th March, and that any date between that and the end of the preceding month of December might be referred to two years by followers of different systems of reckoning. What was done with the successors of St Serf, or what was their then condition in Culross, we are not informed; but after the fashion of the day, a colony of monks was brought from Kinloss in Morayshire, to tenant the newly erected monastery on the shores of the Firth of Forth. The first abbot was named Hugh, and he had previously been Prior of Kinloss.

Abbot Hugh is said in 1218 to have received absolution at York from the hands of the Papal legate. On what account this was granted, we are not told; but Father Hay records of him, that he died in the odour of sanctity, and was equally renowned for his good deeds and the miracles which he performed. He was most hospitable to strangers,

and charitable to the poor—relieving, it is said, nearly two thousand persons every day with doles of bread and pulse at the gate of the monastery. And if he were reminded by some of his more frugal brethren that there was a likelihood through such liberality of the convent barns being deplenished, the jolly abbot would exclaim, "What matters it if our corn run short? Let us use up the oxen and sheep, and anything else we have, and so divide our substance with the poor." Renowned and beloved through the whole neighbourhood, his body was nevertheless after his death consigned, like that of St Swithin, to a lonely resting-place in an obscure part of the churchyard; and he left behind him in the monastery no less than a hundred monks and a hundred and thirty novices or probationers. If any reliance can be placed on these last statements, Culross Abbey must have been from the first a building of great extent and magnificence.

The successor of Abbot Hugh seems to have been William Ramsay, who died in 1232, and he was followed by a second Abbot Hugh, who had been transplanted to Culross from Melrose. It may indeed be generally affirmed of the abbots of Culross, like those of other Scottish religious houses, that little more is known of the most of them than their Christian names.

Among the benefactions with which Earl Malcolm, the founder, enriched his monastery, seems to have been a grant of the lands of Abercrombie or Crombie, in the parish of Torryburn, but which long consti-

tuted a parish by themselves, and were only united to Torryburn in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. A controversy regarding certain payments from these lands arose shortly afterwards between the above-named Hugh, first Abbot of Culross, and William, Abbot of Dunfermline. An arrangement was effected in 1227, by which it was settled that the Abbey of Culross should enjoy the tenths of fruits, trees, &c., in its own territory of Abercrombie, and pay fifteen silver marks yearly to the Abbey of Dunfermline. The settlement was confirmed by Pope Gregory IX. in 1230. The lands of Crombie continued the property of Culross monastery up to the Reformation, and were then made over as part of the spoils of the Church to James Colville, natural son of Sir James Colville of Easter Wemyss, and brother of Robert Colville, ancestor of the Lords Colville of Ochiltree, from whom the present proprietor of Crombie and Craigflower is descended.

In 1322, eight years after the battle of Bannockburn, Culross again appears in history, on the occasion of a renewed invasion of Scotland by Edward II. King Robert Bruce caused all the cattle and provisions to be driven from the counties south of the Forth, and he then ensconced himself with an army of defence at Culross, to watch the approach up the Firth of the English vessels which Edward had ordered as auxiliaries to his land forces. Meantime the English king, as he advanced with his army into Scotland, found nothing but a desert; and as contrary winds prevented his ships entering

the Firth with supplies, he soon found himself necessitated to commence a retreat to his own country.

In the first year of Robert III., who ascended the Scottish throne in 1390, a charter of confirmation was granted by the king of a conveyance by "Walterus de Moravia, dominus de Tullibardyn," of the lands of Auldton, Pethwer, and Castlebeg to the convent and monks of Culross. These Murrays of Tullibardine were progenitors of the Dukes of Athole, and held lands in the parish of Fossaway—among others those of Pethwer or Pitvar. The following account is given of the gift of the lands to Culross Abbey. A hostile clan had made an incursion into the Murrays' territory, and carried off a quantity of cattle. They fancied they had got beyond the danger of pursuit, and had sat quietly down to rest themselves and carouse within a church, when they were overtaken by their adversaries, who set fire to the building. Not one person escaped from the flames, and in expiation of so terrible a sacrilege the chieftain of the Murrays was obliged to make over the lands of Pitvar to the abbots of Culross. The Crown succeeded to their rights on the annexation of benefices at the Reformation, and the minister of the first charge of Culross receives to the present day part of his stipend from the rents formerly paid out of these lands.

Another curious story is recorded in connection with the rights of Culross Abbey over the lands of Pitvar. A dispute arose between them and the

Tullibardine family regarding the limits of the ecclesiastical territory. A monk of Culross placed himself on a piece of ground beyond the boundary, and declared on oath that he was standing on soil that was the property of Culross Abbey. One of the Murrays, exasperated at what he believed to be a deliberate falsehood on the part of the Churchman, struck him dead on the spot. On pulling off his boots, they were discovered to be lined with earth which he had brought with him from Culross. The unfortunate equivocator was buried on the place where he fell, and the spot still bears the name of the Monk's Grave.

In 1402 a council assembled at Culross (doubtless in the monastery) to decide on the place of confinement of the ill-fated Duke of Rothesay, eldest son of Robert III., whose youthful escapades and miserable end have been interwoven in so interesting a fashion by Sir Walter Scott in his tale of the 'Fair Maid of Perth.' The council was presided over by Robert's unscrupulous brother, the Duke of Albany, who was bent on the destruction of his nephew, in furtherance of his own ambitious schemes. Culross is thus, though in rather indirect fashion, connected with one of the darkest and most mysterious tragedies in Scottish history. The unfortunate prince was already a prisoner in the Castle of St Andrews—having been inveigled into Fife by Albany, and then seized as he was riding with a small retinue near St Andrews, between Nydie and Straburn. At the council held at Culross, it was resolved that

he should be conveyed to a dungeon in the tower of Falkland Palace; and there he shortly afterwards perished, having, there is little doubt, been simply starved to death.

In 1415 we find John, Abbot of Culross, mentioned as present in a general council held at Perth; and in 1442, Robert, Abbot of Culross, is recorded as taking part in the king's general council at Stirling.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, a certain John Hogg appears as Abbot of Culross, under whose rule in 1490 the assemblage of houses that had gradually clustered round the convent and extended themselves down the face of the hill towards the sea-shore, received an accession of dignity in being erected into a burgh of barony, or rather of regality. The abbots of Culross were temporal as well as spiritual lords, and as such exercised a heritable jurisdiction over the territory comprised within their lordship. This jurisdiction they made over to a layman, who exercised it as representing them, and on their behoof; and the deputies who exercised this authority as a hereditary office for the convent of Culross were the Earls of Argyll. This powerful family then held, as one of their principal seats, the Castle of Gloom, situated in a romantic gorge of the Ochils about ten miles due north from Culross.

About the time when the town was converted, as already mentioned, into a burgh of barony, the Argyll family procured an Act of the Scottish Parliament changing the name of their fortress from the Castle of Gloom to Castle Campbell—a designation

which it retains to the present day. The bailiary or lordship of Culross was held by them under the abbots till the Reformation; and on the dissolution of the religious houses, was in 1569 transferred from the Earls of Argyll to Robert Colville of Cleish, ancestor of the Lords Colville of Ochiltree. We shall hear further of this heritable jurisdiction, and the claims to which it gave rise after Culross was promoted to the rank of a royal burgh.

It would appear that John Hogg, as well as his predecessor and successor in the abbacy, held also the office of judge and conservator of the privileges of the Abbey of Paisley. In this capacity Hogg "sub-delegatts severall persons to informe and give sentence against Robert, Bishop of Lismore, for sequestration of the fruits of the churches of Colmanel, Kylkeran, and Kyllelan from Paisley." And in 1500 his successor, whose name is not given, cites the Archbishop of Glasgow to compear before him to answer to what should be objected against him by the Abbot of Paisley.

The Archbishop of Glasgow thus cited by an Abbot of Culross was no other than the celebrated Robert Blackadder, brother of Patrick Blackadder, Laird of Tulliallan, who then occupied the castle of that name, still existing as a stately ruin in the neighbourhood of Kincardine-on-Forth. Blackadder is well known as the first Archbishop of Glasgow, and also as the founder of the transept and crypt which bear his name, attached to the grand old cathedral of that city. He was highly esteemed

by King James IV., who employed him on several important missions; and he has also acquired a somewhat unenviable notoriety by his prosecution of the Lollards, thirty of whom—chiefly from Ayrshire, and members of the best families—were summoned by the Archbishop to defend themselves in presence of the King. This, one of their number—Adam Reid of Barskimming—accomplished with such success, that Blackadder, greatly to the amusement of King James, was quite discomfited, and the Lollards were dismissed with no further penalty than an admonition to beware of new doctrines. The trial of these Lollards has a connection with Culross, inasmuch as John Campbell, of New Milns and Loudoun, one of the thirty, was the maternal grandfather of James Erskine of Balgownie, one of the principal heritors of Culross, who took a leading part in promoting the Reformation.

But Archbishop Blackadder has left a more tangible memorial of himself at Culross than is associated either with the old Castle of Tulliallan or the descendants of the Ayrshire Lollard. In 1503 he erected on the lands of St Mungo, and on the spot consecrated by tradition as the landing-place of St Thenew and the birthplace of her son St Mungo, a memorial chapel, the ruins of which still exist. I have already mentioned that it probably occupied the site of a previous building which had marked the traditionary spot from a very early period. He endowed it with revenues out of the lands of Craigrossie, in Strathearn; and his brother, Patrick Black-

adder, Laird of Tulliallan, appears as one of the witnesses to the charter or deed of gift.

In 1504 we find a "special licence, respite, and protection" granted by James IV. to the tenants, &c., of Robert, Archbishop of Glasgow, until his return from Rome. And certain persons are inhibited from pursuing any actions against him till his return. Among those thus inhibited are "ane Reverende fader, Andro, Abbot of Culrose, his abbay and convent; Andro Blacader of that ilk; Dame Elizabeth Edmonstoune, lady of Tullyallane; Patrick Blacader, her sone and aire; David Brose of Clackmannane," &c., &c. It would thus appear that the Archbishop's relations with his own family, as well as with Culross Abbey, were scarcely friendly. It will be seen, too, that a new abbot, Andrew by name, has come in the room of John Hogg.

In 1525, Thomas, Abbot of Culross, appears as a commissioner for holding Parliament; and then we reach a stage of considerable interest, in the election to the abbacy of Sir James Inglis, whose reputation in the world as a deviser of court theatricals had not been of a kind very consonant with the clerical character. But inconsistencies of a much more serious description were in those days openly practised and tolerated. He was celebrated as a court poet and inditer of ballads and elegant verse; though nothing of his has come down to our time but one poem, which is ascribed, moreover, by some to William Dunbar. It is a satire of no special merit—having as its subject the common and well-

worn themes of clerical profligacy, aristocratic oppression, and social corruption in general. Sir David Lindsay, in his prologue to the 'Complaint of the King's Papingo,' makes the following reference to Inglis:—

> "And in the court been present in these days,
> That ballads, brieves, lustily, and lays,
> Which to our prince daily they do present,
> Who can say more than Sir James Inglis says
> In ballads, farces, and in pleasant plays?
> But Culross hath his pen made impotent."

Sir James Inglis, we are informed, had held various appointments at the Court of James IV.; had been chaplain to the Prince Royal, afterwards James V.; and was secretary to Queen Margaret, and chancellor of the Royal Chapel of Stirling. He was appointed Abbot of Culross about 1528, but scarcely enjoyed his dignity for two years. Sir James Balfour's 'Annales of Scotland' records, under the year 1530, the following notice of his fate with grim brevity "This zeire, 1530, the Laird of Tulliallane was beheidit the first day of Marche for killing Mr James Inglis, Abbot of Culrosse, and with him a mounck of the same abbey, a chieffe author of the Abbot's slaughter." From one or two other sources we are enabled to procure some details of the dismal transaction.

It has already been hinted that the abbots of Culross and the Blackadders of Tulliallan entertained little mutual goodwill, notwithstanding of Archbishop Blackadder, a cadet of the family, having

erected and endowed a chapel at Culross in honour of a distinguished native, the patron saint of Glasgow. Probably, indeed, the ground of St Mungo's on which the chapel was built belonged really as an appanage to the Cathedral of Glasgow; and the little edifice in question, with its ministering chaplains, may have been regarded with no favour by the occupants of the splendid monastery at the top of the hill. However this might be, John Blackadder of Tulliallan, the son or other successor of Patrick Blackadder, who appears as one of the witnesses to the Archbishop's benefaction, conceived a mortal enmity against Abbot Inglis, mainly in consequence of the latter having granted to Lord Erskine a lease of the lands of Balgownie, in the parish of Culross, of which the Laird of Tulliallan was then tenant. This sharp practice on the part of Inglis took place during the absence in Edinburgh of Blackadder, who consequently vowed revenge. An opportunity soon occurred for gratifying this passion. The Abbot and the Laird encountered each other at the Loanhead of Rosyth[1]—that is to say, the lane leading down to Rosyth Castle, near North Queensferry, from the highroad between the latter place and Culross. The attendants on each side were equal, comprising a troop of sixteen horsemen; and an attack having been made by Blackadder, Sir James Inglis was slain. The bloody deed seems to have taken place

[1] Such is the commonly received account. Father Hay, however, says that the murder took place "non procul a Sterlini montibus,' which, if authentic, might point to the foot of the Ochil Hills.

on 1st March 1530, though Sir James Balfour assigns this date for the punishment of the murderers—an event which one account states for the 27th and 28th of the same month, and another refers to the 27th of August following.

Along with Blackadder a certain William Lothian, a priest of Culross, had acted as chief abettor, and was speedily apprehended along with his patron. There could be little question as to their guilt, and their fate was soon decided. As Lothian was a priest, it was necessary that before being handed over to the secular arm he should be deprived of his orders. This was accordingly done with great form and ceremony on a public scaffold at Edinburgh, in the presence of the King and Queen and an immense crowd of persons. The delinquent was thereupon handed over to the Earl of Argyll as head justice, who may also have been preferred to this office as hereditary bailie of the lordship or regality over which the slaughtered abbot had presided. On the following day he and the Laird of Tulliallan were beheaded. Three other persons, probably retainers of John Blackadder, named "Robert Manderstoune, James Mechell, and William Hutoune," were accused of the same murder, but claimed the privilege of the sanctuary of Torphichen, in which they had taken refuge. They were brought to trial, but being acquitted of forethought felony, were judicially redelivered to George, Lord St John, master of the said sanctuary. The only other circumstance of which we are informed in connection

with the murder of Sir James Inglis is, that he was interred in the chapter-house of Culross Abbey—a building which has now disappeared. It may here be mentioned that the title *Sir* prefixed to his name is what Inglis enjoyed in accordance with the usages of the time as distinctive of his clerical character, and in no sense as expressing any knightly rank. Thus we find that William Lothian, Blackadder's accomplice, was, previous to his degradation from holy orders, designated as *Sir* William Lothian. A further example of this nomenclature appears to be given in the old Scottish riddle quoted below, which has probably come down from Popish times. The parish priest often exercised the function of "dominie" or schoolmaster; and this combination of functions was continued after the Reformation, when the schoolmaster, in addition to his week-day services of imparting instruction, had to officiate in the church on Sundays as "reader":—

> "The minister, the dominie, and Sir John Lamb,
> Went to a garden, where three pears hang;
> Each pulled a pear, and yet twa hang."

From the scanty and unsatisfactory accounts which we glean of Culross previous to the Reformation, it would seem that after the murder of Inglis a certain John Hamilton acted for a time as abbot. Coupled with some local traditions, the circumstance of there having been an Abbot of Culross who bore this name, would establish a strong probability that this was no other than the cele-

brated John Hamilton, natural son of the Earl of Arran, who, after being Abbot of Paisley, rose to the dignity of Archbishop of St Andrews. He took a prominent part in the political troubles of the time, and was ultimately, on being captured at the taking of Dumbarton Castle in 1571, hanged over the bridge of Stirling, being the last Roman Catholic Archbishop of Scotland, and the first who had suffered capital punishment. There was certainly in the first half of the seventeenth century a family of the name of Hamilton who were proprietors of the estate of Blair, near Culross. They were said to be the illegitimate progeny of the Archbishop; and one of the daughters, Margaret Hamilton, married Robert Bruce of Blairhall, elder brother of Lord Kinloss and Sir George Bruce. The old house of Blair Castle, too, is described in the Old Statistical Account of Culross as "a strong old house, said to have been built by Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, about the time of the Reformation." The circumstance of his being Abbot of Culross would very naturally account for his building a house in the neighbourhood, and making provision for his illegitimate children out of the property of the Church.

Culross Abbey as a religious community was now tottering to its fall, and its last abbot, John Colville, takes possession of the abbatial chair. Along with him is conjoined, as "Commendator and Usufructuar of Culross," a certain William Colville—a relation doubtless — whose period of management extends

from 1539 to 1564. Mr Laing, in the appendix to Knox's History edited by him, says:—

"Among the dignified clergy who were present at the condemnation of Sir John Borthwick for heresy in May 1540, we find the names of William, Commendator of Culross, and John, Abbot of Lindores. Both of these individuals took their seats, as Lords of Session, on the spiritual side, 5th November 1544. They had also a seat in Parliament; and both of them having joined the Reformers, were present when the Confession of Faith was ratified and approved in August 1560. I have two deeds, dated in 1539-40 and 1541, granted by William, Commendator and Usufructuar of Culross, and John, be the permission of God Abbot of that ilk and convent of the samyn, signed VILLELMUS, Commendatarius de Culrois, JOHANNES COLVILE, Abbas, and by 'Frater Johannes Christeson,' and the other brethren of the convent. Another deed, dated 20th March 1564-65, is signed by William, Commendator, &c., along with the brethren of the convent—John Colville, Abbot, having probably died before this. William, Commendator of Culross, filled the office of comptroller from 1546 to 1550. His name occurs among the signatures to the Book of Discipline [for the regulation of the Church]. That the Commendator as well as the Abbot was a Colville, might be shown from several incidental notices. One instance may suffice. In the register of signatures there is recorded the confirmation of a pension of £61, 6s. 8d., and 'twenty bollis rynnand met of quheit, granted by umquhill Williame, Commendator of Culross and convent thairof, to Maister Robert Colvill, brother to the said umquhill Commendator,' 15th April 1569."

In 1542 the records of the Scottish Parliament inform us that William Colville voted for the Earl of Arran as governor of the realm during the young Queen's minority; in 1544 he is appointed one of

the senators of the recently constituted College of Justice; and in 1554 he signs the bond to Arran, warranting him against any action for his intromissions with the Queen's jewels. In 1560, as already referred to, we find him mentioned as one of the Lords of the Articles in the Parliament which was held in that year and ratified the Confession of Faith. He has accordingly accommodated himself to the new order of things, and the sceptre of ecclesiastical sway at Culross has passed from the hands of the Church of Rome.

The history of Culross is henceforth a record of the place under Protestant government, and a very different condition of matters has now been inaugurated. The revenues and property of the monastery, like those of the ancient Church generally, have been confiscated and annexed to the Crown—with a provision, however, that a third of the rents of the benefices shall be reserved for the maintenance of the Reformed religion. It is well known in how niggardly a fashion even this fraction of the spoil of the Church was made available for the purposes of religious ordinances and popular instruction. The cupidity of the nobles and courtiers seized and retained the lion's share; and the patriotic aspirations of John Knox and his coadjutors, towards utilising the immense revenues of the Church in the establishment of a grand system of national education, as well as a suitable provision for spiritual instruction, fell to the ground as a "devout imagination." Culross Abbey was secularised like other

religious houses, and the family that seems to have powerfully benefited on this occasion was that of Colville, which in the latter half of the sixteenth century acquired the greater part of the property and revenues of the monastery. We have just seen two of this name in charge at the same time as Abbot and Commendator respectively; and now that the days of the old *régime* are over, but the arrangements of the new not yet completed, we find the affairs of the monastery administered by an Alexander Colville, doubtless of the same class, who under the title of Commendator, or lay steward, was nominally understood to be accountable to the Crown for the revenues received on behalf of the convent. Such stewards had frequently been appointed in Roman Catholic times on the occasion of vacancies, and it was now convenient for Protestant statesmen to appoint their friends to such offices. As Alexander Colville, the Commendator, and his family play an important part in the history of Culross during the years immediately succeeding the Reformation, it may not be amiss to present the reader with a brief summary of their antecedents and belongings.

About the year 1530, Sir James Colville of Ochiltree, in Ayrshire, exchanged this estate with Sir James Hamilton of Fynnart for the barony of Easter Wemyss and Lochorshyre in Fife. He got a charter of these lands to himself and the heirs-male of his body—whom failing, to Robert and James Colville, his natural sons. He is generally known as Sir James Colville of Easter Wemyss, and on the first

institution of the College of Justice in 1532 was appointed one of the judges. He married, first, Alison, eldest daughter of Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan; and secondly, Margaret Forrester, who survived him. He had several children, including a son James and two daughters. This son succeeded him as Sir James Colville of Easter Wemyss. He had also two natural sons, Robert and James. From his legitimate son James is descended the family of the Lords Colville of Culross; whilst from Robert, his elder natural son, is sprung that of the Lords Colville of Ochiltree. Let us first take into consideration the legitimate scion.

Sir James Colville of Easter Wemyss (the second) was eight years of age at his father's death. He married Janet, second daughter of Sir Robert Douglas of Loch Leven, sister of William, Earl of Morton, and died in 1580, leaving two sons. The elder of these succeeded as Sir James Colville of Easter Wemyss (the third), and served with great reputation in France under Henry of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV., against the Catholic League. The younger, Alexander, was the celebrated Alexander Colville, Commendator of Culross, above mentioned. How he gained favour at Court so as to share so advantageously in the spoils of Culross Abbey, we are not informed, but it is most likely that he was a relation of John and William Colville, who had acted jointly as last Abbot and Commendator. At all events, in February 1567, Alexander Colville obtained a charter for all the days of his life of the whole benefice

of the Abbey of Culross. After the grant thus made to him, he received the title of Commendator of Culross, and retained it till his death in 1597. In 1575 he was made one of the Judges of the Court of Session; and in 1578 we find him appointed a commissioner to "treat upon the Lawes"; in 1579, to investigate in a similar capacity the question of the jurisdiction of the Kirk; and in 1581 and 1592, to take part in an inquiry with a view to the reformation of charitable foundations. A general revocation having been made of the "collectorie or thirds of benefices," the following exception is recorded on behalf of Alexander Colville: "As alswa we declair, with advise foresaid, that our said revocation sall not extend against Alexander, Commendatar of Culross, touching any forder payment for the third of the Abbey of Culross then fyve hundreth merkis yeirlie, according to act of secret counsall past thairanent upon the xx day of Januar 1573."

John Colville, eldest son of Alexander, the Commendator, acquired in 1587 a reversionary right to the lands and revenues of Culross Abbey, then enjoyed by his father; and this was subsequently confirmed to him by a Royal charter and an Act of the Scottish Parliament. He did not, however, retain it long, but made it over (on what consideration does not appear) to his uncle, Sir James Colville of Easter Wemyss (the third). The lands and rights thus conveyed were afterwards erected into a temporal lordship, and the same Sir James Colville was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Colville of

Culross. The date of the creation is said to have been in 1609, but according to another account was in 1604, an assertion which is borne out to a certain extent by the circumstance that in 1606 the name of Lord Colville of Culross appears in a list of the nobility. From his nephew John, son of the Commendator, to whose family the peerage ultimately reverted, the present Lord Colville of Culross is lineally descended.

Let us now trace the descent of the Lords Colville of Ochiltree—the descendants of Robert Colville, natural son of the first Sir James Colville of Easter Wemyss, formerly of Ochiltree. As already mentioned, he was next in remainder to the barony of Easter Wemyss after the legitimate heirs-male of his father's body. By a charter in 1533, his father granted him the lands of Gorgy in Renfrewshire; and by another, in 1537, the barony of Cleish in Kinross-shire. He joined zealously the cause of the Reformers, and was killed in the attack of the Congregation, in 1560, on the French at Leith. His only son Robert succeeded him in the barony of Cleish, and in 1569 obtained a charter of the bailiary of the lordship of Culross—an office which, previous to the Reformation, had been the hereditary privilege of the Earls of Argyll. He was succeeded by his son Robert Colville of Cleish, who had a charter of the barony of Cleish in 1574, died in 1634, and was succeeded also by a son named Robert, making thus four Robert Colvilles of Cleish in uninterrupted sequence. This fourth Robert Colville of Cleish had

the honour of knighthood conferred on him by Charles I., and was raised to the peerage by Charles II. in 1651, with the title of Lord Colville of Ochiltree. There have only been three peers who have borne the title, which is now extinct; but the present representative of the family, as well as the possessor of a portion of the ancestral estates, is Mr Colville of Craigflower, in the parish of Torryburn.

The two peerages which sprang respectively from the legitimate and the illegitimate son of the first Sir James Colville of Easter Wemyss have now been traced, and in the course of this history we shall have occasion to refer further to the first peers and their descendants. The whole of the clan Colville is indeed intimately connected with Culross and the surrounding district, and the abbey and its revenues may be said, towards the end of the sixteenth century, to have become in a great measure a family preserve. The spoils of the Church were largely shared among them, and are still held by their descendants. There are still Colvilles of Craigflower, Colvilles of Hillside, and Colvilles of Barnhill, all scions of the old stock; and in addition to these, there used to be Colvilles of Balbedie and Colvilles of Comrie. Much of the landed property in "Perthshire on the Forth," as well as in the adjoining districts of Fifeshire, is to be traced to the convent of Culross and its Commendators the Colvilles.

From John Knox's 'History of the Reformation' we learn that in 1556 the great Reformer, before leaving Scotland to preside over the English congre-

gation at Geneva, spent some time at Castle Campbell with Archibald Campbell, fourth Earl of Argyll, styled by him the "old Erle of Ergyle." Here he "taught certane dayis," and the place is yet pointed out on the castle eminence where he is traditionally said to have preached. The Argyll family still exercised the office of hereditary bailies of Culross Abbey, and retained a close connection with the place. It is just possible, therefore, that John Knox may at this time have visited Culross, which is not ten miles distant in a direct line from Castle Campbell, the latter being clearly visible in its mountain-gorge from the upper part of the parish. It would be interesting also to know whether Culross, in the dawn of the Reformation, furnished any martyrs to the new faith. We know that Thomas Forrest, the vicar of Dollar, and others, were burned to death on the Castlehill of Edinburgh in 1538. One of his companions in suffering was a certain Friar Beverage, or Beveridge, who may possibly have been a monk of Culross, the name being a common one in Kinross-shire and the western district of Fife. A garden adjoining the "Convent-yard" of Culross was in after-days known as "Beverage's yard."

In 1559 we have a glimpse of a hostile armament passing through Culross. The French troops who had arrived in Scotland on the solicitation of Mary of Guise, to aid her in putting down the forces of the Congregation, marched from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, committed great havoc on the lands and man-

sion-house of Kinneil, belonging to the Duke of Chatelherault, on the south side of the Forth, opposite Culross, "and thairefter came to Striveling, whare thei remaned certane dayis. . . . The Frenche took purpose first to assault Fyffe; for at it was thair great indignatioun. Thair purpose was to have taiken and fortifyed the Toun and Abbay with the Castell of Sanctandrois; and so they cam to Culross, after to Dumfermeling, and then to Bruntyland, whair they began to forte; but desisted thairfra and marched to Kynghorne."

The French troops had soon to retrace their steps, in consequence of the appearance of English vessels in the Forth, sent to support the Lords of the Congregation. In this retreat, in consequence of the bridge of Tullibody having been demolished to intercept them, they constructed a bridge themselves across the Devon river, and used for this purpose the roof of the church at Tullibody. This was in January 1559-60. They managed to reach Stirling, and from thence Leith.

The history of Culross from the Reformation to the erection of the town into a royal burgh is, like that of the preceding epochs, extremely meagre. The first appointment of a Protestant minister to the church was that of Mr John Dykes in 1567. Besides Culross, he had charge of the parishes of Crombie and Tulliallan—an arrangement very common at the time, in consequence either of the paucity of ministers, or smallness of the stipends that were payable out of the old Church revenues, the greater

portion of which was retained by the grasping nobility and courtiers. Mr Dykes was nominated by the Secret or Privy Council in 1589 one of the commissioners for preserving the true religion in the sheriffdom of Clackmannan and Kinross. He is last mentioned in 1591, and must have died or been removed previous to 1593, when we find Mr Robert Colville, brother of the laird of Balbedie, appointed to the charge.

Meantime a new era was dawning for Culross, in the rise of its trade and commerce under the energy and genius of Sir George Bruce. We shall see the progress of this, as well as obtain much more ample materials for studying the history of the town, in the burgh records, which commence in 1588.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BURGH RECORDS OF CULROSS FROM 1588 TO 1600.

IT is not till towards the end of the sixteenth century that we come upon any certain or extended account of Culross and its district. But the transition from almost total darkness to the full blaze of noonday is both very sudden and complete. Of the state of matters in Roman Catholic times we can at best only form a conjecture, and summon up imagination to fill in the lights and shadows of the imperfect sketch which is supplied us from the meagre notes and references in old writings, or the local monuments, ecclesiastical and civil, which still subsist, of those long ages of obscurity. But scarcely has the ancient Church been overthrown, and the active and enterprising spirit of Protestantism gained the ascendancy in its room, than the results display themselves in a very decided and unmistakable advance in the commercial importance and prosperity of Culross. Sir George Bruce appears with his magician's wand: a flourishing coal and salt trade is rapidly developed and established, the town increases

both in size and reputation, and royalty having been gained over to lend its smiles and patronage, Culross, which had hitherto only enjoyed the privileges of a burgh of barony under the abbot and monks, now takes her place among privileged Scottish towns as a royal burgh, and in the largest county of the kingdom enjoys this pre-eminence as second, with no other rival of equal rank between her and the fair city of Perth.

As the sudden stride into commercial importance which Culross made shortly after the Reformation is mainly owing to the enterprising genius of Sir George Bruce, some account of him and his family seems desirable before proceeding further with the history of the place. He was the third son of Edward Bruce of Blairhall, who again was the second son (though some dubiety exists on this point) of Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan, fourth in descent from the Robert Bruce on whom King David II. bestowed in 1359 the castle and manor of Clackmannan, with many other lands in that county, and of whom in the charter or deed of gift he speaks as his relative or "cousin." Edward Bruce settled in Culross parish as laird of Blairhall about the middle of the sixteenth century—having acquired a portion at least of that estate from William Colville, then Commendator of Culross Abbey—and by his wife, Alison Reid of Aikenhead, became the father of three sons, the two younger of whom were destined to make a distinguished mark for themselves in the history of their country. With the eldest son, Robert, who

succeeded his father in the paternal estate, and married Margaret Hamilton, a natural daughter of the famous and unfortunate Archbishop of St Andrews of that name, I have nothing at present to do, though I shall afterwards have occasion to refer to him and his descendants.

The second son of Edward Bruce of Blairhall was Edward Bruce, who studied law, became one of the commissaries (or judges in the ecclesiastical courts) of Edinburgh, and received also the appointment of commendator of the dissolved Cistercian Abbey of Kinloss in Morayshire. He was further raised to the dignity of a Lord of Session in 1597, and having ingratiated himself with James VI., was sent with the Earl of Mar in 1600 to England, ostensibly to congratulate Queen Elizabeth on the suppression of the rebellion of the Earl of Essex, but in reality to initiate a correspondence with Secretary Cecil, so as to facilitate the succession of James to the English throne. In this mission he acquitted himself so well that he received in 1602 a peerage, under the title of Lord Bruce of Kinloss, the lands and baronies which belonged to the abbey of that name having been united into a temporal lordship in his favour; and he himself having accompanied King James into England on his accession, was made a Privy Councillor and Master of the Rolls. From the royal gifts bestowed on and the lucrative offices held by him, he seems to have amassed an immense fortune, and to have conceived the design of perpetuating his name and family by the erection in his native parish of

Culross of a princely mansion. Living at the English Court, where the celebrated Inigo Jones, a native of Denmark, had established himself in the household of his countrywoman, Queen Anne, it was but natural that Lord Kinloss should avail himself of the services of the first architect of the day, in common with other English nobles and courtiers, whose mansions he designed and erected. For one of these, more especially—Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury—Jones designed the splendid edifice at Hatfield, in Hertfordshire. I cannot aver positively, and indeed can produce no evidence, that the fine building of Culross Abbey, closely adjoining the ancient church and monastery of that name, owes its existence to the inspiration of the great Danish architect; but the style of its construction, so nearly resembling that of other erections by Inigo Jones, and so much in advance of anything that at the time could be produced by native Scottish artists, coupled with the circumstance of Lord Kinloss's intimate connection with the English Court, induces me to maintain that in all probability its design is to be ascribed to the source I have indicated. It was commenced in 1608, two years before the demise of Lord Kinloss, and had evidently been originally intended to form a magnificent quadrangle, with towers at the four corners. Nothing more, however, was ever constructed than the south front and a small portion of the western side. It was completed in its present form by Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine, who in 1670 added a third storey. Fur-

ther details regarding Culross Abbey and its surroundings will be found in another chapter.

By his wife, Magdalen, daughter of Alexander Clerk of Balbirnie, Lord Kinloss had two sons, Edward and Thomas, the former of whom succeeded him as Edward, second Lord Bruce of Kinloss, and came shortly afterwards, in 1613, to an untimely end, in the memorable duel fought between him and Sir Edward Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset. His brother and successor, Thomas Bruce, Lord Kinloss, received from Charles I., on the occasion of that monarch's visit to Scotland in 1633, the patent of Earl of Elgin—a title which, more than a hundred years afterwards, became extinct in the direct line, on the death of his great-grandson Charles, and passed to the Earls of Kincardine, who incorporated it with their own.

I must now return to Sir George Bruce, younger brother of the first Lord Kinloss, and third son of Edward Bruce of Blairhall. What his original destination in life was, does not appear; but the bent of his genius evidently lay in a commercial direction, and in this he was eminently successful. He embarked in the coal and salt trades, carried on an extensive business in the working of coals and manufacture of salt within his native parish, exported large quantities of these articles, and erected numerous and extensive works, which rendered his name famous throughout the country. He is said to have been the first who introduced the method of draining coal-pits by machinery; and he was probably also

the first who conceived and successfully carried out the daring project of sinking a coal-pit in the sea, and encasing the shaft in a circular wall or *moat*, which rose above the surface of the water. By one of these King James, after having been conveyed underground from the land, made his ascent *in medias auras*, to gaze, on reaching the summit, to his considerable trepidation, on the expanse of water by which he was surrounded. The profits of these collieries and salt-works enabled Sir George Bruce (who had the honour of knighthood conferred on him by the King) to acquire an immense estate, comprising a great part of the parish of Culross, and a great part of the adjoining parish of Carnock, in Fife, from the latter of which he commonly takes his title of Sir George Bruce of Carnock. He also owned extensive possessions in the parishes of Torryburn and Dunfermline. He had his residence in Culross, where the fine old houses in the Sand Haven still bear his initials. And his influence in the town was deservedly great, seeing that his enterprise had raised her to such a height of prosperity and reputation. He both exerted his interest with the King to procure her elevation to the rank of a royal burgh, and advanced a thousand pounds Scots (no inconsiderable sum for those days) towards defraying the fees and expenses connected with the granting of the charter. Altogether he must be regarded as one of the ablest men of his time,—though, unlike his brother, the astute diplomatist, Lord Kinloss, his reputation has been in a great measure merely local.

Sir George Bruce married Margaret, daughter of Archibald Primrose of Burnbrae, direct ancestor of the present Earl of Rosebery. By her he had three sons, George, Alexander, and Robert, among whom his immense estates were divided; but as Alexander died without issue, it is only with George and Robert that I am concerned. The former inherited his father's estates in the parishes of Culross, Torryburn, and Carnock, under the title of George Bruce of Carnock; the latter those in the parish of Dunfermline, under the denomination of Robert Bruce of Broomhall.

George Bruce of Carnock (second of that designation) married Mary, daughter of Sir John Preston of Valleyfield, and had by her two sons, Edward and Alexander. The first of these was created Earl of Kincardine by Charles I., at Carisbrook Castle, in 1647. He died unmarried, and was succeeded in his title and estates by his brother Alexander, who married a Dutch lady, Veronica, daughter of Corneille Van Arsen, Lord of Sommelsdyck, in Holland, and had by her two sons and three daughters. Of these the eldest son, Charles, predeceased his father, and the second, Alexander, succeeded him as third Earl of Kincardine, but died in 1705 unmarried. Of the daughters, the eldest, Lady Mary, wife of William Cochrane of Ochiltree, maintained, on the death of her brother Alexander, that in virtue of a resignation of the Kincardine peerage executed by him in her favour, a new patent authorising its transmission to heirs-female should pass on her be-

half. This was, however, opposed by her kinsman, Sir Alexander Bruce of Broomhall, son of the above-mentioned Robert Bruce of Broomhall, and grandson of the great Sir George Bruce of Carnock. He succeeded in making good his claim as heir-male, in opposition to that set up by Lady Mary, and thus took up the title as fourth Earl of Kincardine, in which he was succeeded in order by three sons and a grandson, whilst his great-grandson Charles inherited in addition the Elgin peerage, and the united titles were henceforth borne by the family. The present Earl of Elgin is a lineal descendant of Sir Alexander Bruce of Broomhall.

The large estates of Sir George Bruce, which had passed successively to his son George Bruce, and his two grandsons Edward and Alexander Bruce, first and second Earls of Kincardine, became, under the last-named of these three successors, hopelessly embarrassed. Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine, is described as an honourable, upright man, who got into disfavour with the Government of the Restoration by his opposition to its tyrannical measures; but his business capabilities seemed to have been of no great order, and though both a scholar and man of ability, his temporal affairs were allowed to go to utter ruin. On his death in 1680, his son Alexander succeeded to his title and estates as third Earl; but it was only a heritage of debt and disorder, and he himself, a man of weak and almost fatuous character, was unable in any way to retrieve matters. A judicial sale took place, shortly after the Revolution,

of the family estates, the greater part of which were purchased by the celebrated Colonel John Erskine, better known as the Black Colonel, a son of David, second Lord Cardross, and father of the distinguished lawyer John Erskine of Carnock, author of the 'Institutes of the Law of Scotland.' As regards, however, Culross Abbey and a small adjoining territory, Lady Mary Cochrane, eldest daughter of Alexander, second Earl, and Lady Veronica, succeeded, probably through her mother having been infeft in them in security of her marriage provisions, in establishing a right of ownership against Colonel Erskine, the judicial purchaser. Though thus disappointed, on her brother's death, in succeeding to the Kincardine peerage, she yet contrived to retain for herself and husband, and transmit to their descendants, the mansion and estate of Culross Abbey. Her son, Thomas Cochrane, who inherited them on the demise successively of his elder brothers Charles and James, succeeded also in 1758 to the earldom of Dundonald, which is still held by a lineal descendant. But the Culross estate was lost by his son Archibald, the ninth Earl of Dundonald, so distinguished by his scientific abilities, and the father of the famous Admiral Lord Dundonald, better known as Lord Cochrane, the hero of Basque Roads. It was sold again for behoof of creditors, and purchased by Sir Robert Preston of Valleyfield, who bequeathed it to the Broomhall family, the descendants of Robert Bruce of Broomhall, younger son of the celebrated Sir George Bruce.

In commencing the history of Culross as exhibited by the burgh and kirk-session records, it seemed desirable to present the above genealogical details in the first instance, as belonging to families who were intimately connected with the place, and to whose members references are frequently made. With the aid of the accompanying running commentary on the extracts from the minutes, I trust that these preliminary statements will enable even a reader unconnected with Culross to understand thoroughly the extracts themselves, and thus gain some fresh and satisfactory information regarding the conditions of life in Scotland two or three centuries ago.

The way having been paved by Sir George Bruce for the erection of Culross into a royal burgh, the charter of constitution was finally granted by James VI. in 1588. It bears, as the main causes inducing his Majesty to so gracious a concession, that the town with its territory had devolved on the Crown by the general annexation of the temporality of Church lands; that its situation on an upper reach of the Forth being favourable for the purposes of trade and navigation, had been extensively utilised in the export of salt and coals; and that a considerable augmentation of the royal revenues might be expected from the duties leviable on these articles. The limits of the burgh territory are defined as being "the lands of Valleyfield on the east, the lands called Wallis and Castlehill on the west, the lands called Blairhall and the common muir of the said

burgh on the north, and the sea on the south parts."

The first volume of the burgh records of Culross is in a sadly dilapidated condition, wanting the boards, and having a portion at the end torn away. It is, however, complete from its commencement in 1588 to the year 1600, though the writing is both difficult to decipher and the ink much faded in many places. Much of it is taken up with the details of actions for debt before the bailie's court—and these are in great measure of purely a technical nature, and wholly uninteresting. Names and references, however, frequently occur which are of considerable importance in throwing light on the history of the time as regards local matters. The volume commences with a succession of Acts for the regulation of the affairs of the burgh; but most of these being of a similar character to those of other Scottish corporations of the kind, can have no interest for the general reader. The following may be quoted :—

"Act of Brewsters.

"Item, it ys statuit and ordinit that na brewster within this burch sall sell na deirar aill, fra the day end of this present, quhilk is the day of , the zeir of God Jawr. four scoir and zeiris, nor x pennies the pynt, under the panes of aught shillings for the first fault, the second deuplit, the third fault dealling of their aill and breking of their lumes."[1]

[1] Utensils—same word as *loom* in its general and primary sense of a utensil or tool of any kind, from the Anglo-Saxon *loma*. Thus in old Scotch occur frequently such terms as *wark-lumes*, *milk-lumes*, *brew-lumes*, &c.

In this Act we find a specimen of the rough-and-ready way in which our ancestors both sought to keep down prices to a certain level by legal enactments, and punished the infraction of these in a primitive and comprehensible fashion. We shall come on more instances as we proceed. It had this decided convenience, of both effectually punishing the offender, and relieving the poor by a dole of meat or drink without any tax on the public funds.

"ACT OF THE SABOTH-DAY.

"And lykwyis that na taverner nor brewster sall within the hous nor outwith the samyne sell wyne nor aill nor any othair kynd of vivere[1] upon the Saboth-dayes in tym of preching, under the panes of four shillingis for the first fault, for the second fault deuplit, and the third fault triplit, and the onlay to abound and surmont be iiiis. sa oft as the fault is committed; and the officiars oulklie[2] everie ane of them to tak tryall and serche diligentlie for the contravenars gif ony beis of the samyne; and the officiars to have of everie person that they sall find contravenand the said acts xiid. of their unlay;[3] and gif ony of the said officiares beis findin and apprehendit leaguing with the contravenars and declairs with the samyne, he to be punished as the beilleis and counsall sall think most expedient."

The observance of the Sabbath in Scotland in Roman Catholic times seems to have been very lax —though Queen Margaret, the wife of Malcolm Canmore, in the end of the eleventh century is said to have introduced a much more seemly state of matters than had hitherto prevailed. But it is very

[1] Food or victuals. [2] Weekly. [3] Fine.

doubtful whether the change was a lasting one; and in any case, the disturbed state of the country, with invasions and domestic dissensions, must have rendered it almost impossible to secure the day being kept with general regularity and decorum. Besides, the very spirit of the Roman Catholic religion has always been averse to the strict observance of the Sabbath, partly from the Church regarding it as a festival, partly also from the multitude of other fast-days and holidays, which, as solely sanctioned by herself and resting on her authority, she has commonly been more solicitous to uphold than the first day of the week, which claims a more exalted source than mere ecclesiastical ordinances. On this last ground it has always been strenuously upheld by Protestants, and more especially by the Presbyterian subdivision, who took up more decidedly than their brother reformers the position of the Holy Scriptures, as contained in the Old and New Testaments, being the only rule of life and doctrine, and of no other claim of authority being admissible. Whilst it is extremely questionable whether the original reformers, including Calvin and Knox, held such rigid and absolute views as to the observance of the Sabbath as the Puritan leaders in the following century, who maintained it to be equally binding on Christians with the requirements of the moral law, it is certain that the former regarded it as invested with a divine sanction. This, they conceived, the ancient Church had neglected to enforce, whilst they had laid on the people the sanctification of a host

of other days for which the Scriptures furnished no warrant. In those countries, accordingly, which adopted the Reformation, we find, subsequent to that event, a general increase of Sabbath observance, combined with legislative interference for this end, though undoubtedly there were great differences in individual countries in point of stringency, which was nowhere carried to such a height as in Scotland, whose ecclesiastical polity, under the influence of John Knox, was closely modelled on that of Geneva. But the strict observance of the Sabbath, which is generally regarded as so characteristic of Scotland, was by no means established so rapidly and firmly there as the change from the old religion to the new was in other respects. Both ministers and magistrates, indeed, combined to put down all secular labour or public amusement on that day; but it was long before the populace could be got to acquiesce peaceably in these enactments, which, as we shall find, proved a constant source of revolt against and disobedience to authority down to the beginning of the last century. At the present day, when a general sense of propriety, independent of any legislative restriction, induces an almost total cessation on Sunday of ordinary labour, it seems somewhat extraordinary, in turning over the old burgh and kirk-session records, to find a constant mention of such breaches of the Sabbath as are comprised in different kinds of rural and domestic labour, in fishing, working at mills, salt-pans, and the like. At the same time, we find great severity in reference to acts, the

idea of interfering with which would now only excite ridicule. The saying that extremes meet is well exemplified here, seeing that wherever any large or influential section of the community is marked by extreme austerity of life and manners or the reverse, there generally also exists alongside of it a party or set whose characteristics are of a directly opposite nature. Thus we find in the seventeenth century the profligacy of the nobles and courtiers contrasted with the unbending austerity of the Puritans, and the indifference and laxity of social life in the eighteenth qualified by the earnestness and extravagances of the Methodists.

"Act concernyng Flytaris.[1]

"Item, it is statuit and ordinit, for avoiding of tumoris within this burch, that na man's wyff nor douchter flyt with their neighbour, giffand sclandaris wordis in oppen speiking, to thair defaming, under the pane of the first fault ten shillings, the second falt xxs., and the third fault fourtie shillings. And gif ony servand or lass beis found flyting with ane othair, and defames their marrow[2] with sclandaris wordis, the samyne persone that defames their nychbour shall be put in the joggis, and remain therein during the beilleis will."

The "joggis" or "jougs" was an iron collar fixed in a wall or post, within which the delinquent's neck was enclosed. We shall find frequent references to

[1] Scolds.

[2] Companion or partner. This is the meaning it has in the old ballad—

"Busk ye, busk ye, my bonny, bonny bride,
Busk ye, busk ye, my winsome *marrow*."

this punishment, which may be regarded as the Scottish form of the pillory, and was in constant use for petty offences. There still is one of these collars attached to the wall at the churchyard gate of Duddingston, near Edinburgh.

"It is statuit and ordanit be the beilleis and counsall of this burch, for avoiding of kairds,[1] evil-conditionat and proud beggaris, resorting and hanting within the samyne, that na persone nor personis tak upon them to ressave within thair housis or famileis within this burch na kaird, vagabound, evil-conditionat and proud beggar, alsweill in ludging as drinking, under the panes of viiis. for the first falt, xvis. for the second, and so oft as they be found coulpable sa oft the penaltie to be doublit; except allanerlie to sell tham at the dore ane chopin of aill at the meist, without any forther dealling with them. And for trying thereof, the officers are appointed to that effect, and quherinevar thai fynd any person coupable hereof, to poynd tham without farther delay; and aucht shillings of siller amongst the several vnlays to be employed to the officer's awin vses for his diligence; and gif guid order beis keipit swa that the officers gett nathing, and thai doand their exact diligence nychtlie in trying where sic persones ressorts, frequentis, and hantis everie whar of thame, the wherof of their aboid, they sall have amongst them of the commowne goods ilk of them for their panes and travaill taken in trying of the premiss, xiiis. iiiid.[2] And forder, gif ony person beis culpable of the premiss, and beis stubborn to do his dewtie, gif they dwell fra Jone. Blawis house west, George Bruce sall sertifie and sett the samyne forward; gif thai dwell between the said Jone. Blaws and the Abbay, Jone. Blaw sall sett forward and mantene the samyne; and gif thai dwell between Rot.

[1] Tinkers and suchlike vagrants—from the Gaelic *ceard*, a tinker.
[2] 13s. 4d.—a merk Scots.

Bennett's and the eist end of the town, Rot. Bennet sall report and sett forward the samyne."

The above is about the earliest reference that can be found bearing on the topography of the town of Culross. The three individuals above named were probably the first appointed bailies of the royal burgh, which had just received its charter of erection. George Bruce had evidently not yet been knighted, but he was the chief man of the place, and took precedence as first bailie—the title of provost not having yet, nor apparently for some years afterwards, been assumed by the magistrate holding that rank.

"1588.

"Curia capitalis burgi de Culros tenta in pretorio ejusdem decimo die mensis Octobris anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo octuagesimo octavo, per Georgium Bruce, Joannem Blaw, Andream Gypsone, Robertum Bennet, ballivos ejusdem sectis vocatis curia legitime affirmata absentes in rotulis patentes."

"Head court of the burgh of Culross, held in the Tolbooth of the same, the tenth day of the month of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight, by George Bruce, John Blaw, Andrew Gypsone, and Robert Bennet, bailies of the same, parties being called and the court legally constituted—the names of those who are absent are entered on the lists."

The head court differed from the ordinary court of the burgh in this, that it was supposed to comprise all the burgesses. These were expected to give attendance on such occasions; and their absence, unless a sufficient excuse were forthcoming, was

punished by the infliction of a fine. I may observe here generally, that whilst in taking those extracts from the burgh records I have not deemed it necessary to insert ordinarily the whole of the preliminary heading of the minutes (stating the holding of the meeting and the names of the magistrates present), it nevertheless seems desirable to do so in a few instances, so as to present a full specimen of the proceedings. And occasionally some interest attaches to the particular magistrates presiding. In these early years of the burgh history we almost always find George Bruce and John Blaw sitting as bailies :—

"Election of Members of Court.

"The quhilk day the beilleis, counsall, and haill communitie of this burch being assembled in the tolbuth, was creat beilleis George Bruce, Jone. Blaw, Andrew Gypsone, and Rt. Bennet, Johon Forret, town clerk, and Robert Forret, Jone. Rowane, Achilles Taillour, and Jone. Bennet, officiares, and Adam Caw, dempster. And thai and ilk ane of thame respective gaif their aythis of fidelitie that they suld vse the offices faythfullie and lealie till all persones but fine or favour."

Very probably the above minute records the first election of magistrates after the erection of Culross into a royal burgh. The appointment of Adam Caw as "dempster" is almost the only instance in these records in which such an officer is named, though we find occasional references to the "hangman," with which in Scotland the term in question was generally synonymous. In the High Court of Justiciary

the sentence of death passed by the judges in accordance with the finding of the jury used to be read out in Court by the "doomster" or "dempster," who himself was afterwards to carry it into execution. The term, however, in its primary signification, denoted the honourable office of a judge, and in this sense it still continues to be used in the Isle of Man.

In the same head court, held on 10th October 1588, we find the following measures passed:—

"Act for away-taking of Myddings.

"Item, it is statuit and ordanit that all myddingis whatsoever, and all other kynd of materials, be tane aff the haill gaitts and passagis of this burch and sands hevin, and all other promineding places of the samyne, and that the haill gaittis, passagis, and places of promineding be clenyit of all muck, myddingis, stanes, or ony other kynd of materiall that may impethe or truble ony manner of way the passageis, hefane, and upon the gaitts and streitts of the samyne, and that within the space of ane fifteine dayes herof, under the panes of ane vnlay of fourtie schillingis vnlay to be payit to the touns guid be ilk person awneres of the myddingis, or otheris whatsoever, and the muck to be maid commowne to all that will tak away the samyne; and thereafter the samyne to be tane away oulklie, and in caiss thai feill, the officers to uptak the said muck to their awin vss; and gif the officers faillie, thai sall pay ane vnlay of viiis., and the muck commowne to ony persone that will tak the samyne."

Thus three hundred years ago do we find the Culross magistracy issuing stringent prohibitions against the formation of dunghills or heaping up of filth on the streets; and yet, till within a comparatively recent period, as we shall repeatedly see, those orders,

though constantly renewed, proved almost wholly inoperative. The public were unable to feel the propriety of keeping the neighbourhood of their doors clean, and "couldna be fashed" to bestir themselves in the matter or abandon their old ways. The "sands hevin," or Sands Haven, here referred to, is the wide space in front of the townhouse extending down to the sea-shore.

"ACT ANENT THE PURITY OF AILL.

"Item, it is statuit and ordanit be the beilleis and counsall of this burch, that na brewster within this burch tak upon thame to sell ony deirar aill efter the xxiii day of this instant nor viid. the pynt,[1] and that the samyne be sufficient for the said pryce; and gif it sall happen ony person or persones within this burch to sell ony deirar aill fra this instant day forth nor viid. the pynt, the contravenar sall pay ane onlay of viiis. for the first fault, the second fault doublit, the third fault treblit, and dealling of their aill and breking of their lumes. And for to tak attendance that the said aill sall be maid sufficient and guid for the said pryce, the saidis beilleis and counsall hes chosen cunneris,[2] for trying of the samyne, and also to try the gudnes, sufficientnes, and wecht

[1] The reader will doubtless keep in view that all the statements of money, weights, or measures in these extracts, are referable to the Scottish standards. It may be regarded as somewhat suggestive of the national character that such liberal measure should be observed in dealing with land and liquor—the Scottish acre and the Scottish pint being, the former nearly one-fourth larger than the imperial acre, and the latter more than four times the size of the imperial pint. On the other hand, twelve pennies, or a shilling Scots, make only a penny sterling; and the pound Scots, consisting of twenty of these shillings, is only equal to one-and-eightpence in sterling currency.

[2] Tasters,—properly knowers, from the Anglo-Saxon *cunnan*, or Dutch *kennen*, to know—of the same origin as the Scotch *ken* or English *con*.

of the breid that sall happen to be baikin within this burch, the persones undervritten, thay ar to say, Jone. Bardner, Alexr. Drysdaill, Alan Sands, David Bar, Archd. Ezat, James Christie, Robert Wilsone, Jone. Crystie, Thomas Ezat, David Makilroy, James Fergus, Matthew Cuk; and the saidis personis, cunnars for saids respective, maid their ayths lealie to ministrat in the said office."

From an entry dated 30th April 1589, it would appear that Sir George Bruce (then only "George Bruce, burgess of Culross"), in consideration of the sum of £1000 Scots advanced by him towards procuring the erection of the town into a royal burgh, received a grant from "the beilleis, counsall, and communitie" of the same, of "the haill maills, profittis, and dewteis and entress qtsoever of all and hail the salt-pans lyand and adjacent at the sie-syd [sea-side], within the said burch of Culross and bounds of the samyne limitat in the charter therof, and that for the profit and zeirlie dewtie of the said sowme of ane thousand punds money foresaid, to be possesst, uptaken, and intrometit all be the said George, and applyit to his awn use and commoditie ay and qll he be compleatlie payet of the said principall sowme."

"12 *June* 1589.

"The quhilk day Jone. Sharpe and Bessie Hunter his spous are decernit to content and pay to Bessie Bar, the relict of umquhile Rot. Paterson, the sowme of xxvis. viiid. within terme of law, in respect the saids Jone. and Bessie grantit the samyne. Whairupon the said Bessie Bar tuk act of court."

Many of the entries in this minute-book are of a

similar character to the preceding—that is to say, are merely records of actions for the recovery of debts or money lent, and as such are generally wholly devoid of interest. I have thought proper, however, to extract this one, from its being the first reference I have found to the celebrated Bessie Bar, who is to this day a household word in Culross in connection with the famous well which bears her name. We shall hear more both about her and her well as we proceed.

Here is an account of a trial and punishment for theft:—

"Curia burgi de Culross tenta in pretorio ejusdem ultimo die mensis Februarii 1590, per Georgium Bruce, Joannem Blaw, ballivos ejusdem sectis vocatis curia legitime affirmata [28 February 1590].

"The qlk day compeirit Jone. Colvile, son to Alexr. Comendator of Culross, and presentit in jugement Jone. Baxter, born in , and accusit him for breking of ane hous in Cuthrie,[1] and stealling of siller [?] furth of the samyne; whilk the said Jone. could not deny, and therefore was put to ane assese underwritten:—

Assese.

Adam Mastertoun, of Grange.	David Makilroy, there.
Rot. Wilsone, in Culross.	Jone. Brown, in Wais.
James Fergus, there.	Jone Sharpe, in Culross.
Henrie Younger, there.	James Kymmene, there.
Jone. R. Keddie, there.	Ja. Findlay, there.
Walter Sands, there.	Matthew Tailleour, there.
Jone. Bardner, there.	Alexr. Clerk, there.

[1] Probably Tillicoultry.

"The haill assise pronunceis, be the mouth of Adam Mastertoune, chanselar, that the said Jone. is giltie of pyking, and is culpable of that whereof he is accusit of be his awin confession, and therefore detains him in the juges will. The juges, in respect theroff, decernis and ordanis the said Jone. Baxter to be skurgit immediatlie through the toun of Culross, and therafter to be banished the bounds of the lordship and barony of Culross for evere; and gif evere he beis apprehendit or fund within the boundis of the samyne heirefter, his lug to be cuttit: quherupon the dempstar gaif doome, and the said Jone. was immediatlie after this, passing furth of court, skurgit through the said town of Culross, to the example of otheris."

In a minute of the Town Council dated 20th March 1590, we find two decernitures in favour of Bessie Bar, for the prices of certain quantities of malt supplied by her to the women named respectively "Jonet Edward" and "Jonet ——, spous to Gilbert Young." There occurs also, of the same date, an application by Thomas Halliday, feuar of the property held by Bessie Bar in liferent, to have the "stane, tymber-wark, and thak thereof" inspected judicially, and "that the said Bessie Bar shall find caution and securitie that the samyne suld be in all caissis als sufficient and guid at the said Bessies deceiss as the samyne sall happen to be found the tyme of the sighting and comprising thereof." In accordance with the prayer of this petition, a commission is granted to certain craftsmen to visit the premises; and their report, given in in the following month of April, is, that they find

"The said tenement of land, housis and byggins therof, with

the pertinents, sufficient in the stane-wark therof, except ane litle on the bak syd therof, and that vis. viiid. money bestowit and warat[1] therupon will mak the samyne to be als sufficient as the rest. And fyndis the samyne sufficient in the haill tymber-wark theroff; and fyndis that the samyne is insufficient and unwatterthicht in the thak therof, becaus the samyne is decayit and neakit in mony places of the thak of the samyne; and fyndis that the haill dures and yettis theroff hes sufficient yettis and dures of tymber, and thre of thame hes lokis and keyis, and the inner yett has ane lok and ane key; and the window brodis therof are of unbound fyr-wark, and there ar in the haill windowis of the samyne nyne irine stancheons. And ordanis the said Thomas Halliday cast ane gutter in the bak syd of the said tenement of land, that the watter may frelie have passage fra the bak wall therof, for saiffing of the said bak wall, and for saiffing of the jestis therein fra rotting, be this their ordinance to be extendit in maist ample form."

It would appear from the above account of Bessie Bar's house that glass windows were as yet unknown in private houses in Culross.

"16 *October* 1593.

"The qlk day it is ordanit that the maill market be haldin at the Sand Hevin, and ane commoune market-place decreit is; and that the land flesche-market be also haldin on the Sand Hevin, and ane other place decreit is."

This is not a very clear or intelligible enactment; but the phrase, "land flesche-market," or market for meat from the country, in contradistinction to that supplied by butchers within burgh, is deserving of notice. The term "land market" was generally used to denote the market for country merchants;

[1] *Wared* or expended.

and this is the true meaning of the *Lawnmarket* in Edinburgh, which is merely a corruption of "land market." In ancient Scottish phraseology, *land* and *landward* are constantly used to express the county and matters connected with it, in opposition to town. Thus in the 'Bride of Lammermoor' Caleb Balderstone tells Dame Lightbody that he "aye likit landward dainties, and landward lasses too."

[*Same date.*]

"The qlk day the counsall hes concludit that ane taxation be maid of xx lib., to be given to George Bruce for the ancarage, mussell-scalp, kirk, kirkyard bell, stepill, Sande Hevin, and all thereto perteyning mentionat in the said George's infeftment therof, to the effect that the commoditie therof in tymes cumming may accrue to the town's use."

How Sir George became originally possessed of these does not appear; but the town evidently considered, and doubtless with justice, that its dignity was concerned in acquiring the sole and undivided ownership of such property. Among those rights which were yearly put up to auction by the burgh authorities, there are often mentioned in after-times the "anchorage and mussel-scalp." The last-named privilege seems ultimately to have become almost entirely valueless; and, as has happened on many other parts of our coasts, the mussel-beds, from a too lavish and wasteful use, have almost entirely disappeared.

"26 *December* 1593.

"The qlk day it was declarit to the beilleis that David Rowane, Wm. Hunter, Alexr. Hunter, Andro ,

were foundin at even last, the xxiii days of this instant, mysusing this burch in ryoting throw the samyne as mad pepill at mydnight, and trubling, be their vnsemelie behaviour and incivilitie, the haill inhabitants of this burch. Thairfore thai ar ordanit to be forward to the next court."

"17 *January* 1593.

"The qlk day it was affirmit be James Tailleour, ane of the officers of this burch, that on Sonday last, the xiii. day of this instant, before none in tyme of preching, thair was ane number of landwart men drunkand and ressit in the hous, and war ilk ane with otheris; and therefore the said James is decernit in ane penaltie of viiis.; and becaus his fault is extraordiner, he being ane officer and man be of wha suld rather have given ane guid example till otheris, the rest of his punishment is remittit to the session and elders at their next convenand."

"ACT AGAINST IDLE STURDIE BEGGARS.

"22 *April* 1595.

"The qlk day it is statuit and ordanit be the beilleis, counsall, and communitie of this burch, and grantit be the minister, elders, and gentilmen of this parochin of Culross, and for prevynting and repressing of strange and sturdie beggars ressorting and frequenting thes bounds in greitt quantites and troupis, sic es men gawing in lyning clayths feinzeng thame to be mad, men gawand with pestolatts, Jadivart stavis, and swords, fenzeng thame to be banist men, cairdis, and all other kynd of idle vagabound stryngers, quhome be our lord's lieges are hevilie ourlaid, whereby the almous given to thame the puir anes living within the parochin unable to wark and labor ar famysched and ar all to die for fault of sustentans; and seing the samyne is allowit of in our soverane lord's parliaments be the thrie estaits of this cuntry, that nane sic vagabound idle persons be sufferit to travel in this country, bot that ilk persone remane, resort, and frequent within the parochine where

they war born, that their inhabilitie may be the better knawine: Thairfor, in our S. L.'s name, in the name of the magistratts of this burch, minister, elders, and gentilmen of this parochin, that all idle vagabound persons be banished thir bounds for ever, and that they be not ressavit nor uphaldin be ony person or persons dwelland within this parochin, als weill toun as land, under the panes contenit in our sovraine lord's acts; and charges and commands all puir, aged, and deabilitat persons living within this parochine qlk are not able to leiff bot be almous, that they compere vpon the xv. daye of Marche instant, and hev their names enrolled in the kirk-yaird at nyne hours before none, to ressave tokens of Who compeirs not the said day, hour, and place, they will not be ressavit in tyme coming."

No revolution, however beneficial in the main, can be accomplished without producing some inconvenience; and the truth of this was keenly experienced in regard to the sudden and overwhelming increase of beggars and sturdy vagrants that displayed itself in Britain as one of the consequences of the Reformation. Previous to that event, necessitous persons of all kinds were freely relieved at the numerous convents with which the country abounded, and where on certain days regular and liberal doles were distributed to all comers. However vicious in principle and debasing in its results such indiscriminate charity might be, it nevertheless relieved the community at large of the necessity of grappling with the evils of mendicancy and pauperism. But the overthrow of the Roman Catholic faith—which, however much it might depart from the original purity of Christianity, at least always inculcated the relief of the poor as one of the cardinal virtues—and the

destruction of the monasteries where this theory was carried so extensively into practice, introduced for the first time the problem of pauperism to be solved by magistrates and statesmen. It proved a knotty question for our ancestors, who endeavoured at first to meet it by rough-and-ready and sometimes by harsh and savage measures. And its solution remains a *crux* to the present day—the advance of civilisation and luxury, and the growth of large towns, seeming to multiply and intensify the evil, notwithstanding all the efforts both of enlightened statesmanship and unwearying Christian charity and exertion for its suppression. We shall frequently find the subject taken up both by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. It may not be an uninteresting remark, that when a locality has gained a traditional prestige for good or evil, it retains it often through a long succession of ages, however the circumstances of the community may be changed. Thus the village of Coldingham, which formerly owned a rich and stately priory, where hordes of mendicants used doubtless to be relieved, has attained a distinction in Scottish song in reference to the jolly beggars of "Cowdigham Fair"; and it is famous through all Berwickshire for the multitude of "beggars' rests," or tramps' lodging-houses, which it contains—these hostelries, it is said, moreover, being of different qualities and degrees, so as to suit all customers, from the genteel mendicant down to the vulgar tramp. Though things are not managed on so extensive a scale in Culross, there still cling

to the place the traditions of its old Abbey, and it is still a favourite resort of and *howff* for beggars. *Servabit odorem testa diu.*

Here is the first order of council for the construction of Bessie Bar's Well:—

"19 *October* 1598.

"It is ordanit that there be ane dyk biggit on the south part of Mr James Prymrois yaird, be eist the sand hevin, upon the toun's expensis for inlargeing of the sand hevin, and ane commoune well to be biggit in the sand hevin; and gif one persone or personis clames ony rycht heiroff into the stanes and wair on the craggs besouth the toun, nane mar nor another alleging thai have ryht thereto be their land dueis forgane, the samyne sall tyne their freddome and libertie thai have of this burch for evere."

There can be no question that the above "commoune well to be biggit in the sand hevin" is that now known as Bessie Bar's Well—the Bandusia of Culross, and a veritable "jugis aquæ fons," such as might furnish a place five times the size with a copious supply of limpid and wholesome water. It is situated at the north-western extremity of the Sand Haven, and has been hewn out of the sandstone rock—through which it percolates—adjoining the tenement now known as the Colonel's Close,—the older of the two houses which this comprises having been built by Sir George Bruce in the very year under notice. From the accounts that have come down to us, Bessie Bar's house must have stood in the neighbourhood of this spot; and the steep narrow path which leads up at a little distance to the

heights above, is still called "Bessie Bar's Hagg." Resting on sandstone cliffs, Culross is abundantly supplied with excellent water — there being, besides Bessie Bar's, the so-called Locket Well, and Baby's Well, all copious fountains, to say nothing of numerous private wells. In further reference to this subject, I may here briefly summarise what I have been able to ascertain regarding the worthy matron who has so permanently, and also probably on her own part so unexpectedly, immortalised herself in Culross. Bessie Bar was then a jolly widow, who dwelt in Culross in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and was alive at least in 1597. Her married name was Mrs Paterson; but in those days, and indeed for long afterwards in Scotland, a woman continued after marriage to retain in social usage her maiden name, and was more commonly designated thereby than by that of her husband. The custom, too, was favoured by the Scottish law, which, contrary to that of England, holds that a woman in marrying does not abandon her former name, but merely gains an additional designation, and may use either the one or the other at pleasure. Bessie Bar's husband's name was Robert Paterson, and they appear to have been married about 1577. At his death (date uncertain) he left her liferentrix of a good and substantial house in the Sand Haven of Culross—and here she appears to have carried on an extensive trade in malting. She was certainly a woman of considerable substance, as we find her rated in 1597 on the stent-roll of the burgesses in no

less a sum than £3 Scots,—the majority of those taxed being rated at £1 Scots and under, whilst four, including Bessie Bar, are rated at £3, and only three at a higher amount—namely, John Blaw and David Makilroy each £4, and, *magno intervallo*, the great Sir George Bruce at £10. Bessie Bar, therefore, is clearly entitled to be reckoned among the "upper ten" of Culross of her day; and being a woman of reputation and position, the new well, when built by the magistrates in the neighbourhood of her house, would naturally bear her name. The following anecdote may aptly close this part of my subject: Two Scotchwomen, it is said, encountered each other at a wayside spring in America. Both were weary and thirsty, and quaffed to their great satisfaction the cool and refreshing draught. "Grand water," remarked the one wayfarer to the other, who replied, "Ah! but it's no sae gude as Bessie Bar," —thus gratefully remembering in a far-off land the clear and genial fountain of her native Culross.[1]

The last that I shall present of the entries of this period is one referring to night musicians and revellers, who seem to have unwarrantably been disturbing the first slumbers of the burgesses:—

"11 *October* 1599.

"The qlk day, becaus of the great misorder vsit within this burch in the nyht be droken personis gawand throw

[1] I regret to be obliged to state that, just as these sheets are passing through the press, the stern verdict of analytical science has ruthlessly demolished the feeling of complacent pride with which the people of Culross were wont to regard their wells. Arrangements are now in progress for a new water-supply from Glensherup in the Ochils.

the toune with pypars or ony other instrument and trubling of the indwellars of this burch thereby, and vilipending and dispysing of the magistrates for reprehending the samyne, therefore it is statuit and ordanit there be na aill nor wyne sauld within this burch to na persone except to gentilmen or to gentilmen's servants, under the panes of the penaltie of the price of ane boll malt; and gif ony pypar or menstraill sall happin to play throw this burch in the nyht, except with honest men, the doaris, alsweill the menstraillis as otheris that accompanies them, ilk ane of thame to be wardit therefore, and to pay ilk ane of thame v lib. respective *toties quoties*."

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL HISTORY OF CULROSS FROM 1600 TO 1629.

FROM an untoward mischance, to be referred to more particularly afterwards, the burgh records of Culross from 1600 to 1652 have disappeared. We are therefore thrown back again on the general history of the period, which, though certainly much more copious than that of preceding ages, is still by no means ample or minute regarding this town and district. Fortunately, over a considerable portion of the space during which the Town Council minutes are awanting, we shall have the aid of the much more curious and interesting KIRK-SESSION RECORDS.

The favour with which James VI. regarded Lord Kinloss and his brother, Sir George Bruce, as well as the convenient proximity to Dunfermline, must have frequently led the monarch to Culross, both on his hunting excursions and at other times, and it was probably on one of these occasions that he made the memorable visit to Sir George's coal-pit which tradition has recorded. The story, indeed, is merely traditionary, but has every semblance of truth, and

the incident most probably took place before James's accession to the English throne, when he had such good cause, from the emergence of so many plots against him, to suspect the existence of one more, in the event of his being suddenly confronted with any surprising or unlooked-for circumstance. Lest my readers may have forgotten it, it may be as well here to quote the story as related by the author of the 'Old Statistical Account of Culross,' whose account, so far as I know, is the earliest on the subject that appeared in print :—

"These works appear to have been in their most flourishing state in the reign of James VI., a little before, and some time after, his accession to the crown of England. They were then wrought a considerable way under the sea, or, at least, when the sea overflowed at full tide, and the coals were carried out to be shipped by a moat within the sea-mark, which had a subterraneous communication with the coal-pit.

"There is a tradition that James VI., revisiting his native country, made an excursion into Fife, and resolving to take the diversion of hunting in the neighbourhood of Dunfermline, invited the company then attending him to dine along with him at a collier's house—meaning the Abbey of Culross, then belonging to Sir George Bruce. Being conducted by his own desire to see the works below ground, he was led insensibly by his host and guide to the moat above mentioned, it being then high water; upon which, having ascended from the coal-pit, and seeing himself without any previous intimation surrounded by the sea, he was seized with an immediate apprehension of some plot against his liberty or life, and called out 'Treason!' But his faithful guide quickly dispelled his fears by assuring him that he was in perfect safety, and pointing to an elegant pinnace

that was made fast to the moat, desired to know whether it was most agreeable to his Majesty to be carried ashore in it, or return by the way he came; upon which the King, preferring the shortest way back, was carried directly ashore, expressing much satisfaction at what he had seen. It is certain that at that time the King was sumptuously entertained at the Abbey, some of the glasses, &c., then made use of in the dessert being still preserved in the family; and the room where his Majesty was entertained still retains the name of the *King's Room.*"

Such is the story; but I venture to think, as already indicated, that, though true in the main, the incident must be referred to a previous period, at some date about the beginning of the sixteenth century, before James had left Scotland to ascend the English throne. In the first place, Sir George Bruce's mining operations and erection of the Castlehill Moat had commenced nearly thirty years before the King's visit to his native country in 1617. Of this we are informed by John Taylor in his 'Pennilesse Pilgrimage,' shortly to be quoted. It is not likely that so extensive and interesting a work would be in existence within an easy distance of the royal palace of Dunfermline without James having paid it a visit of inspection. Then we know that in those days James was much harassed by troubles and conspiracies, and he would be far more likely to have conceived apprehension of a plot against him, when the divine rights of majesty were set little store by in Scotland, than on a subsequent visit to the country, when he had been so many years Sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, and could have had

little fear of a design against his safety by a Scottish subject. Sir George Bruce, too, could hardly have been the owner, so early as 1617, of the mansion of Culross Abbey, which afterwards became the property of his descendants the Earls of Kincardine. It was certainly transferred to them by the representatives of its builder, the first Lord Kinloss, and very probably by his lordship's grandson Robert, second Lord Elgin, on the death of his father Thomas, first Lord, in 1662, the same year in which Sir George Bruce's grandson Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine, succeeded to that title on the death of his brother Edward, the first Earl. It is shortly after this last period that we have the first evidence of Culross Abbey being occupied by the Earls of Kincardine, the previous residence of the family having apparently been the tenement in the Sand Haven of Culross, which had been built by Sir George Bruce, and continued long afterwards in possession of his descendants.

I make little doubt of King James having made an excursion to Culross from Dunfermline in 1617, of his having been received there by Sir George Bruce, revisiting the moat in his company, and afterwards being entertained with great state in the splendid new edifice on the crest of the hill, which had some years previously been erected by his counsellor, Lord Kinloss, and was now the heritage of his lordship's second son, Lord Thomas Bruce of Kinloss, who in 1633 was created by Charles I. Earl of Elgin. The Kinloss family, after the removal of

the Scottish Court to England in 1603, seem to have chiefly resided in and identified themselves with that country, and it is quite possible that Lord Thomas Bruce may have accompanied the King on his visit to Scotland, and entertained him as host at his mansion of Culross Abbey. My impression is, that several traditional accounts have been jumbled together in the story in the Old Statistical Account, though at the same time I must admit that the real facts of the case seem now to be unattainable. The dismantling and evisceration of the Abbey in after-days by Sir Robert Preston, though he subsequently restored it in its present form, have effectually destroyed all reminiscences of the *King's Room.*

The proclivities of James VI., it is well known, were always in the direction of Episcopacy, as a system of Church government more favourable to kingly authority than the more democratic constitution of Presbytery. Whilst king of Scotland only, however, his hostility against the latter was necessarily much hampered and circumscribed, and he could condescend so far to the prejudices of his Scottish subjects as to term the service of the Church of England "ane ill-mumbled mass." But circumstances were considerably changed after he had succeeded to the English crown, and experienced the dutiful obsequiousness of English courtiers and churchmen. To the end of his days he henceforth pursued steadily a course of undeviating hostility towards Presbytery and its ministers—a course which, united with the extreme notions of royal prerogative

inculcated by James, ultimately brought to the scaffold his unfortunate son Charles I., who inherited, with greater energy in action, all the proclivities which his father was generally content to indulge by lordly assertion and blatant harangue.

James succeeded in imposing a modified Episcopacy on the Scottish nation, but met with great opposition to his measures. He committed Andrew Melville, the eminent Presbyterian leader, to the Tower; and many of the ministers, including Welsh, John Knox's son-in-law, were imprisoned and rigorously dealt with. Mr Robert Colville, the successor of Mr Dykes in the charge of Culross, made himself conspicuous by his opposition to Episcopacy, and is mentioned by Calderwood as one of the ministers who paid a visit of condolence to their imprisoned brethren in Blackness, and afterwards to the same band of sufferers at Linlithgow Palace, to a chamber in which they had been brought under guard from Blackness for examination. It does not appear, however, that Mr Colville himself ever sustained any inconvenience from his anti-Episcopal proclivities, though a helper of his, Robert Melville by name, is recorded to have made a curious demonstration against the bishops in Culross Church in the presence of Adam Bannatyne or Bellenden, Bishop of Dunblane, the diocese to which Culross belonged.

We are informed in an Appendix to Row's History by another hand, that Bishop Bannatyne was related to Robert Colville, the minister of Culross,

who had considerable influence with him. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Colville was allowed to remain unmolested, notwithstanding his own strong Presbyterian leanings and the very pronounced views of his helper. He is said to have lived on the most friendly terms with John Row, who was minister of the neighbouring parish of Carnock, and is reported on one occasion to have offered a large sum of money to the historian if he would exchange cures with him,—"Mr Robert Colvill declaring that he was most desirous to transport to Carnock, alledging that his burden in Culros was intollerable, more than 2000 communicants, whereas in Carnock there wes not many above one hundreth. And then he said that he was *propheta in sua patria;* but he altogether refused Mr Robert Colvill's offer, saying that he was weaker then he, and therefore wold be loath to slay himself for world's gaine."

The large number of communicants above mentioned must not be understood by any means as denoting that they were all parishioners of Culross. It was then, and for a long time afterwards, considered to be a highly becoming and edifying act to attend the communions of neighbouring parishes as well as of that to which the individuals specially belonged. Certain parishes enjoyed great reputation in connection with their communions, and the number of communicants was consequently, as in Culross, extremely large. But the paucity of communicants at Carnock, which Mr Colville seemed to

regard as a good reason for desiring his translation thither, did not continue long under the ministry of John Row, under whose incumbency the communions there became famous both for the number of persons present and the general fervour of the services. Individuals of the highest rank—including, as we are informed, several countesses—used to resort thither. This was probably the commencement of that reputation which the place enjoyed in reference to those occasions down to a comparatively recent period.

During Row's ministry the barony of Carnock was, about 1602, purchased from Lord Lindsay of the Byres by Sir George Bruce, the merchant prince of Culross, who henceforward took his principal designation from this estate. Among other rights which he thus enjoyed was that of patron of the church of Carnock, which he repaired and slated. He seems to have lived on very friendly terms with Row, whom he endeavoured to shield from the consequences of his uncompromising opposition to the bishops. Regarding this we are informed that Sir George,

"Being Episcopall in his judgment and a great courtier with King James, dealt earnestlie with him [Row] to compeer before the High Commission, promising to write in his favour to the Archbishop of St Andrewes, assuring him that he sould not be censured; but he refusing, telling him that if he compeared he wold declyne that court as ane unlawful judicature not appoynted by Christ, Sir George Bruce wrote to the Archbishop Spottiswood and to Mr Peter Bruce his friend, and sent his letters with one Richard Chrystie, one of his servants. Also his nephew,

William Rig of Athernie, and his second sonne, Mr John Row, went along to the Bishop with Richard Chrystie; but the Bishop little regarded William Rig or any other that spoke for him. Richard Chrystie, after sundrie arguments, came in with one weightie argument, saying, 'Thir coales in your moores are verie evill, and my master hath verie many good coales; send up a veshel everie year to Culros, and I shall see her laden with good coales.' This prevailed, yet for the fashion he wes by the High Commission confyned to his own congregation. . . . After this the Archbishop of St Andrews intreated Sir George Bruce to persuade him to come and speake with him, assuring him that he sould be a freind to him, &c. But when Sir George Bruce dealt with him to doe so, he flatlie refused, alledging that honest ministers that went to the Bishop roosed[1] themselves little of it, and that the bishops had given it out that they had consented to their corrupt courses and given them satisfaction. His refusall was evil taken by his patron, yea he never wes so well pleased with him thereafter, but keeped a grudge at him to his death, whilk fell out shortlie after King James' death 1625."

Whatever may be thought of Sir George Bruce's views on Church and State, the above extract presents him as a very kindly disposed, well-meaning man. It also bears testimony to his reputation as a coalmaster. Regarding the *douceur* to Spottiswood to propitiate him on behalf of the minister of Carnock, we are further informed that notwithstanding the strong opposition Row made to Episcopacy both in preaching and non-compliance, the Archbishop, receiving every year his ship-load of coals, was induced to leave the recalcitrant parson

[1] Boasted—from Icelandic *rausa*, to boast.

unmolested, and "so he continued in his ministrie." Other ministers were not so favourably dealt with as Row.

Besides his coal-works, Sir George was carrying on a lucrative business in the manufacture of salt, which, though not probably originated by him at Culross, was certainly largely promoted and increased. From a letter of his to Lord Salisbury, dated from Royston in England, 8th April 1611, and preserved among the State Papers, we learn that the King, in consideration of his long services in manufacturing white salt, had recommended to the Commissioners for Suits his petition to be allowed to furnish Boston, Lynn, and Hull with salt. This was doubtless in the way of a monopoly, according to the common custom in that age of rewarding Court favourites; and Sir George begs the Earl to further the application, in remembrance of his old friendship for the knight's late brother Lord Kinloss.

The first Lord Kinloss had indeed been liberally rewarded for his good services in promoting James's accession to the English crown. It appears from the State Papers that on one occasion he had received £2000, and on others various grants of lands. As already mentioned, he erected Culross Abbey in 1608, and died shortly afterwards in 1610. He was succeeded by his eldest son Edward, second Lord Bruce of Kinloss, who in the same year was invested with the Order of the Bath. The latter acted also as one of the King's gentlemen of the bedchamber, and seems to have been a youth of

great gallantry and spirit. He has achieved a reputation of a special kind by his tragic end in 1613, in a duel with Sir Edward Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset, as related below.

We hear nothing almost of Lord Edward Bruce in connection with Culross, though we are told that in pursuance of the intention of his father, the first Lord Kinloss, he had resolved to build at Culross a hospital for old men and women—a project which his brother, Thomas Bruce, first Lord Elgin, afterwards carried into execution. He seems to have chiefly resided in England, and, in common with other Scotsmen, incurred great popular odium about 1612, when the wrath of the English was greatly excited against the Scots in consequence of the alleged favouritism to them of King James—a feeling which had recently been much intensified by Sir John Ramsay having struck Lord Montgomerie's brother across the face with a rod at a horse-race, and also by Lord Sanquhar's assassination of a fencing-master. Lord Edward was at one time in great danger of his life when seated in the theatre, and was indebted for his preservation to an old gentleman who had been a friend of his father, and contrived to have him carried away to a place of safety.

In the beginning of 1613 a report was bruited abroad of a deadly quarrel having arisen between Sir Edward Sackville and Lord Edward Bruce, and of the latter having declared his intention of going abroad to meet Sackville in mortal combat.

This report proved only too true, and in the course of the same year news arrived of a bloody duel having been fought near Bergen-op-Zoom, in Holland, between the two noblemen—of Lord Bruce having been killed, and Sir Edward Sackville dangerously wounded. A full account of the affair was drawn up by the latter for his vindication; but even on his own showing, he cannot be acquitted of the charge of having acted with undue passion and violence. The incident excited a great sensation at the time, and has been immortalised by Sir Richard Steele in his account of it in the 'Guardian.' The origin of the quarrel is unknown, but from an expression made use of by Lord Clarendon in reference to the transaction and Sackville's share in it, there is little reason to doubt that a lady was concerned; and it seems very questionable, also, whether the affair redounded to the credit either of Sackville or Bruce.

The story of the fight may thus be told. Acting on the promptings of wounded honour, Lord Edward Bruce sent a challenge from Paris by the hands of a Scottish friend to Sir Edward Sackville, who was then residing with his father-in-law at the latter's seat in Derbyshire. Sir Edward is spoken of by Lord Clarendon as a headstrong follower of pleasure, and as he was also a married man, an unfavourable suspicion is excited against him from the first. Lord Kinloss requested him to give him a meeting abroad, and speaks of his being confident of Sackville's honour being equally powerful to do himself right, as it was to do a wrong to the writer of the letter.

This expression has been interpreted as expressing Lord Edward's confidence in the justice of his cause; and it has been pointed out that Sir Edward Sackville, in his account of the duel, takes no notice of this allegation, as if he had been conscious of its truth. The reader will form his own conclusion as to this argument, which does not appear to me to have great force.

Some special prohibition or interference had probably taken place which prevented the combat being fought on British soil, and it is possible also that Lord Kinloss had been ordered into exile for a while by the King, who cherished great regard for the memory of his father. Sir Edward replied to Lord Bruce's letter, expressing his readiness to give the meeting proposed, and promised within a month to inform him duly of all particulars regarding time, place, and weapons. He proved as good as his word, and on 10th August 1613 wrote from Tergosa or Goes, a town in Zealand in Holland, saying he was waiting there to give Lord Kinloss the satisfaction he required, and requesting him to repair thither with all speed. Lord Bruce sends the following reply:—

"I have received your letter by your man, and acknowledge you have dealt nobly with me; and now I come with all possible haste to meet you. ED. BRUCE."

In pursuance of this arrangement the belligerents met at Tergosa, from which it was now agreed that they should proceed first to Antwerp, and then to

Bergen-op-Zoom, so as to be near the frontier between Holland and the Flemish territories of the Archduke of Austria, and thus secure an easy retreat for the survivor, in case of one of them being killed. To a place, accordingly, between these towns Lord Bruce and Sir Edward Sackville, accompanied by their seconds and surgeons, proceeded on horseback, one of the combatants keeping about two hundred yards in advance of the other. According to Sir Edward's account, which is all that we have of the transaction, Lord Bruce displayed a fierce determination to have the life of his antagonist, and with that view was desirous that the encounter should take place without the presence of any second. This, however, was peremptorily declined; and the parties having arrived at the place agreed on, alighted from their horses, and made preparations for the onset. The locality was a meadow ankle-deep in water; and there the two young men, stripped to their shirts, began the fatal encounter. Sir Edward Sackville having become very excited, was threatened for a time with being worsted, and he received several severe thrusts from Lord Bruce's sword, till the weapons of each having become respectively entangled, a mutual release was proposed. This was declined by both, and the victory was now evidently to be on the side of him who could first make his opponent let go. Sir Edward, by a violent effort, succeeded in freeing his own weapon, whilst he retained hold of that of Lord Bruce, at whose throat he now made a lunge, and called on him to ask his life or yield

his sword. The demand being refused, he passed his sword twice through the body of the young nobleman, who thereupon exclaiming, "Oh, I am slain!" endeavoured with all his remaining strength to trip up and overturn his antagonist. But this was only the last effort of despair, and Lord Bruce was immediately prostrate on the ground under Sir Edward Sackville. To the reiterated request of the latter that he would ask his life, he replied with defiant scorn. At this point Lord Bruce's surgeon, who had hitherto remained at a distance, exclaimed that if the wounds of his unfortunate patron were not forthwith cared for, he would immediately die; and then, on Sir Edward's inquiring whether his antagonist wished now to have medical attendance, a faint consent was expressed. But by this time it was too late, and in a few moments the ill-starred Lord Bruce expired. At the very last he gave tokens of his generosity of disposition. Seeing his surgeon rushing, sword in hand, against Sir Edward Sackville, he exclaimed with all the strength he could muster, "Rascal, hold thy hand!" Even this interposition would have been unavailing had not the other medical attendant advanced to his master's assistance.

So ends this tragic history, the circumstances giving rise to which must apparently ever remain a mystery. The body of the unfortunate Lord Edward was deposited in the church of Bergen-op-Zoom, and a monument was erected to his memory—remains of which, it is said, are still to be seen in the

ruins of that building, which was in great part demolished in the siege which the town sustained in 1747. Like St Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, however, whose body experienced a posthumous history in a succession of transits, a part of Lord Kinloss was destined to undergo the same fate. His heart, after being taken out and embalmed, was sent over to his native country and deposited in the family vault, adjoining the Abbey Church of Culross. Years passed on, and the circumstance became all but forgotten, being only preserved as a traditional remembrance, which was even regarded by some as legendary. But on Sir Robert Preston in the beginning of the present century becoming possessed of the Culross estate, he resolved to test the truth of the story by instituting a search in the part of the vault where the heart was said to have been deposited. This was accordingly done in 1808, and the undertaking was crowned with success, the heart being found in the place in question enclosed in a silver case, which had been deposited between two flat stones, and had engraved on it the inscription, "Edward Lord Bruse." Drawings of the case were taken, and it was again deposited carefully in its resting-place. The incident of the duel was used by the late Dr Robert Chambers as the basis of his story, entitled "The Tale of the Silver Heart," which appeared in one of the early numbers of 'Chambers's Journal.' It contains a number of additional circumstances beyond what are above related; but these I may state, on the authority of the author

himself, to be only romance. There is, however, a curious supernatural story quoted by Dr Chambers in his 'Domestic Annals of Scotland,' from 'Theophilus Insulanus's Treatise on the Second Sight' (1763), which may have some interest for my readers:—

"The unfortunate Lord Bruce saw distinctly the figure or impression of a mort-head on the looking-glass in his chamber that very morning he set out for the fatal place of rendezvous, where he lost his life in a duel, and asked of some that stood by him if they observed that strange appearance—which they answered in the negative. His remains were interred at Bergen-op-Zoom, over which a monument was erected, with the emblem of a looking-glass impressed with a mort-head, to perpetuate the surprising representation which seemed to indicate his approaching untimely end. I had this narrative from a field-officer, whose honour and candour are beyond suspicion, as he had it from General Stuart in the Dutch service. The monument stood entire for a long time, until it was partly defaced when that strong place was reduced by the weakness or treachery of Cronsstrom, the governor."

It would appear from a letter of the Duke of Lennox to Lake, preserved in the State Papers, that some purposes of revenge against Sir Edward Sackville had been cherished by the Bruce family, on account of the death of their kinsman. A certain Archibald Primrose, evidently the first laird of Burnbrae, and father-in-law of Sir George Bruce, is adduced as the authority for the statement. Nothing of the kind, however, ever subsequently transpired.

In 1618 the celebrated John Taylor, the "Water Poet," made a journey to Scotland, and in the course of it paid a visit to Sir George Bruce at Culross. He has left a record of his jaunt in his 'Pennilesse Pilgrimage,' which recounts his adventures with much quaint humour. His account of Culross and Sir George's mining operations is extremely valuable and interesting. After reaching Edinburgh and Leith, he crosses to Burntisland, and then travels to Stirling. Here is his narrative of his visit to Culross:—

"But I, taking my leave of Dumfermeling, would needs goe and see the truely noble knight, Sir George Bruce, at a towne called the *Cooras*. There he made mee right welcome, both with varietie of fare, and after all he commanded three of his men to direct mee to see his most admirable cole-mines, which (if man can or would worke wonders) is a wonder. For my selfe, neither in any travels that I have beene in, nor any history that I have read, or any discourse that I have heard, did never see, read, or heare of any worke of man that might parallel or be equivalent with this unfellowed and unmatchable work. And though all I can say of it cannot describe it according to the worthines of his vigilant industry, that was both the occasion, inventor, and maintainer of it; yet rather then the memory of so rare an enterprise, and so accomplisht a profit to the commonwealth, shall be raked and smothered in the dust of oblivion, I will give a little touch at the description of it, although I amongst writers am like he that worst may hold the candle.

"The mine hath two wayes into it, the one by sea and the other by land: but a man may goe into it by land, and return the same way if he please; and so he may enter it by sea, and by sea he may come forth of it. But I for

varieties sake went in by sea and out by land. Now men may object, how can a man goe into a mine, the entrance of it being into the sea, but that the sea will follow him and so drown the mine? To which objection thus I answer: That at low water, the sea being ebd away, and a great part of the sand bare, upon the same sand (being mixed with rockes and cragges) did the master of this great worke build a round circular frame of stone, very thick, strong, and joyned together with glutinous or bitumous matter, so high withall that the sea at the highest flood, or the greatest rage of storm or tempest, can neither dissolve the stones so well compacted in the building or yet overflow the height of it. Within this round frame (at all adventures) hee did set workemen to digg with mattakes, pickaxes, and other instruments fit for such purposes. They did dig forty foot downe right into and through a rocke. At last they found that which they expected, which was sea-cole. They following the veine of the mine, did dig forward still; so that in the space of eight-and-twenty or nine-and-twenty yeeres, they have digged more then an English mile under the sea, that when men are at worke belowe, an hundred of the greatest shippes in Britaine may saile over their heads. Besides, the mine is most artificially cut like an arch or a vault all that great length, with many nookes and by-wayes; and it is so made, that a man may walk upright in the most places, both in and out. Many poore people are there set on work, which otherwise through the want of employment would perish. But when I had seene the mine and was come forth of it againe, after my thanks given to Sir George Bruce, I told him that if the plotters of the powder treason in England had seene this mine, that they (perhaps) would have attempted to have left the Parliament House, and have undermined the Thames, and so to have blowne up the barges and wherries wherein the King and all the Estates of our kingdome were. Moreover, I said that I could afford to turn tapster at London, so that I had but one quarter of a mile of his mine to make mee a celler

to keepe beere and bottle-ale in. But leaving these tests in prose, I will relate a few verses that I made merrily of this mine:—

"I that have wasted months, weeks, dayes, and houres
In viewing kingdomes, countries, tounes, and tow'rs,
Without al measure, measuring many paces,
And with my pen describing many places,
With few additions of my own devizing
(Because I have a smacke of Coriatizing),[1]
Our Mandewill, Primaleon, Don Quixot,
Great Amadis, or Huon, traueld not
As I have done, or beene where I have beene,
Or heard and seene what I have heard and seene;
Nor Britaines Odcombe (zany-brane Ulissis)
In all his ambling saw the like as this is,
I was in (would I could describe it well),
A darke, light, pleasant, profitable hell;
And as by water I was wafted in,
I thought that I in Charon's boate had bin.
But being at the entrance landed thus,
Three men there (stead of Cerberus)
Conuaid me in, in each one hand a light,
To guide us in that vault of endlesse night.
There young and old, with glim'ring candles burning,
Digge, delve, and labour, turning and returning,
Some a hose with baskets and with baggs,
Resembling furies, in infernall haggs;
There one like Tantall feeding, and there one
Like Sisyphus he roules the restlesse stone.
Yet all I saw was pleasure mixed with profit,
Which proved it to be no tormenting Tophet:
For in this honest, worthy, harmelesse hell,
There ne'er did any damned deuill dwell;
And th' owner of it gaines by't more true glory,
Than Rome doth by fantasticke Purgatory.
A long mile thus I past, doune, doune, steepe, steepe,
In deepnesse far more deepe then Neptune's deepe,
Whilst o'er my head (in fourfold stories hie)
Was earth and sea, and ayre and sun and skie,

[1] Reference is here made to 'Coryat's Crudities,' a celebrated publication of the day.

That had I died in that Cimerian roome,
Four elements had covered o'er my tombe.
Thus farther then the bottome did I goe
(And many Englishmen have not done so),
Where mounting porposes and mountaine whales,
And regiments of fish with finnes and scales,
'Twixt me and heaven did freely glide and slide,
And where great ships may at anchor ride.
Thus in by sea, and out by land I past,
And took my leave of good Sir George at last.

"The sea at certaine places doth leake or soak into the mine, which, by the industry of Sir George Bruce, is all conveyed to one well neere the land, where he hath a device like a horse-mill, that with three horses and a great chaine of iron, going downeward many fadomes, with thirty-six buckets fastened to the chaine, of the which eighteene goe downe still to be filled, and eighteene ascend up to be emptied, which doe emptie themselves (without any man's labour) into a trough that conveyes the water into the sea againe, by which means he saues his mine, which otherwise would be destroyed with the sea; besides, he doth make every weeke ninety or a hundred tunnes of salt, which doth serve most part of Scotland, some he sends into England, and very much into Germany: all which shows the painfull industry, with God's blessing to such worthy endeavours. I must, with many thanks, remember his courtesie to me; and lastly, how he sent his man to guide mee tenne miles on the way to Sterling, where, by the way, I saw the outside of a faire and statelie house called Alloway, belonging to the Earle of Marr, which, by reason that his honor was not there, I past by, and went to Stirling."

If the date assigned to King James's adventure at the Castlehill Moat is correct—that is to say, if it took place in 1617, on the occasion of his Majesty's revisiting Scotland—it might have been expected that

Taylor, in going over the works in the following year, would both have been informed of their having been honoured so recently by the inspection of royalty, and have recorded the circumstance to enhance the interest of his description. As he has not done so, I conceive that I am warranted in referring the incident to a previous period, ere James had become King of England. And I think Taylor's narrative also demonstrates tolerably conclusively that in 1618 Sir George Bruce was then residing in the house in the Sand Haven of Culross, and not, as has been surmised, in the Abbey. Had he then been an occupant of the latter, there is little doubt that Taylor, who describes so carefully all the grand mansions which he visits, would not have failed to include an account of the splendid residence of his host. That he makes no mention of it, is easily accounted for by the circumstance that it would scarcely be visible to him, as he travelled by the low road along the shore to Culross, and Sir George would be quite sufficiently employed in showing his guest the wonders of his own mining operations, without taking him to see the house, which ten years before had been erected by his brother, and was now the property of his nephew, the third Lord Bruce of Kinloss, afterwards Earl of Elgin.

Over the moat itself and the workings connected with it, was suspended now the fatal sentence—*Cito peritura.* By a singular coincidence, the same year that witnessed the deaths of King James and Sir George Bruce, chronicled also, within three days

of the royal demise, the destruction of the monument of industrial enterprise with which both their names are connected. The following account of the great storm in which it was overthrown is given by Calderwood :—

"Upon the penult of Marche [1625], by reason of a boysterous and vehement wind blowing in the night, and a hie tide in the sea rysing above the accustomed maner, the ships in the harberie of Leith were so tossed that manie of them, dashing one upon another, were broken and spoiled. Some mariners and skippers, rysing in the night to rescue them, were drowned. The like havoc was done in sundrie other parts upon the coast-side alongs the Firth, in Saltprestoun, Kirkcaldie, Ardrosse, and other parts; saltpannes were overthrowne, ships and boats broken, colheughes beside Culross drowned. The like of this tempest was not seene in our time, nor the like of it heard in this countrie in anie age preceiding. It was taken by all men to be a forerunner of some great alteration. And indeed the day following—to witt, the last of Marche—sure report was brought hither from Court that the King departed this life the Lord's Day before, the 27th of March, about the noontide of the day, at Theobalds."

In reference to the above as quoted by him in his 'Domestic Annals of Scotland,' Dr Chambers remarks—"This was long after remembered as the storm of the *Borrowing Days*, such being a popular appellation for the last three days of March, as expressed in a well-known popular rhyme."

The works thus destroyed were never again reconstructed, and after a while the stones of the ruined moat were disposed of and carried away to build the pier of Leith. Traces of the original erec-

tion are still visible at ebb tide, on the stony eminence in the sea opposite Dunimarle, where it formerly towered above the surface of the water. It will be described more fully afterwards in the chapter on the monuments of Culross.

George Bruce of Carnock, the second of that name and designation, is frequently also styled Sir George Bruce; but he really never seems to have enjoyed the rank of knight. As already mentioned, he married Mary, daughter of Sir John Preston of Valleyfield, and was father of Edward and Alexander Bruce, who were afterwards successively first and second Earls of Kincardine. He seems, like his father, to have occupied the house in the Sand Haven of Culross, and to have taken a deep interest in all matters concerning the town and district. In July 1629, the General Convention of Royal Burghs was held at Culross; and George Bruce, as commissioner for the town, was elected moderator of the Convention. By one of its acts, five hundred merks were granted to the burgh of Culross for the repair of its harbour.

Somewhere about this time, or perhaps a year or two previous, must be placed the death of the first Lord Colville of Culross, elder brother of the Commendator. He had served with considerable distinction in the wars of Henry IV. against the Catholic League, and made an expedition in his old age to France, where he was treated with great kindness, and received a pension from the King in recognition of his services. In a letter dated 15th November

1624, preserved in the State Papers, "Old Lord Colville" is spoken of as having arrived from Boulogne, doubtless on his return from that visit. He was proprietor of the estate of Tillicoultry, at the foot of the Ochils, which had come into the possession of his ancestors in 1483. It continued in the family till 1634, when it was sold to the poet, William Alexander of Menstrie, afterwards Earl of Stirling. In his latter days Lord Colville chiefly resided there, and was particularly fond of walking on a beautiful terrace at the north end of the Kirk-hill, and of reposing himself under a thorn-tree, which, when the Old Statistical Account was compiled, was still in existence. One day, whilst he was standing on a stone, looking up to the thorn-tree, and recounting his battles, he fell down the slope of the terrace, and it is said was killed on the spot. His son Robert, Master of Colville, had predeceased him in 1615, and he was now succeeded in the title by his grandson James, who thus became second Lord Colville of Culross. We shall hear more of the family in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

THE KIRK-SESSION RECORDS OF CULROSS FROM 1629 TO 1640.

IT is only of late years that the records of the kirk-session—or, as they are popularly termed, the session books, kept in every Scottish parish—have been conned and investigated, with the view of obtaining thereby some information regarding the manners and customs of our ancestors. Dr Robert Chambers availed himself to a considerable extent of the collection of materials thus furnished, in his 'Domestic Annals of Scotland'; and Dr Ebenezer Henderson has both published an interesting selection from the kirk-session records, and also incorporated these, with many more from the same source, in his 'Annals of Dunfermline.' Dr Ross, too, has given to the world a very interesting little volume in connection with the session records of Dalgety, as illustrating the history of its minister, Mr Donaldson, in the Covenanting times. But it cannot yet be said that the subject has been very generally taken up, or that the extensive and rich field, with

the stores buried therein, has been investigated and worked with the thoroughness that it deserves. There can be little doubt that a vast amount of inedited information is still to be procured, alike from the records of our kirk-sessions and the minute-books of our burgh councils, which would throw a flood of light on the daily life and social manners of our Scottish forefathers.

The session records of Culross commence in 1629, and go on uninterruptedly to 1657, betwixt which date and 1676 there is a blank, arising no doubt from the ecclesiastical commotions and disorders of the period, when no minutes of the session's proceedings were preserved. And another hiatus occurs between 1684 and 1693. The earliest volume extends from 1629 to 1646, and is in a sadly dilapidated condition—some of the first pages having crumbled into fragments, whilst many of the others have become nearly illegible from damp. Yet, after the expenditure of a good deal of time and labour, I have succeeded in deciphering almost all that is worthy of being preserved and extracted. The succeeding volumes are generally both in good preservation and sufficiently legible.

At the period when these minutes begin, Scotland was in a condition of comparative tranquillity, though many would doubtless characterise it as the tranquillity of exhaustion or indifference, and perhaps, with still more reason, as that of the ominous calm that precedes the storm. The old Presbyterian spirit of ecclesiastical independence had been in a great

measure crushed, and Episcopacy had been forced on and sullenly submitted to by the nation. James VI., after his accession to the English throne, felt himself emboldened to exhibit and carry into action the old hostility by which he had long been animated against the Presbyterian system of Church government, which had asserted itself in such uncourtly fashion against kingly supremacy, and exercised so strict a surveillance over kingly morals. He encountered in his measures the most determined opposition, but at last succeeded in bending the Church to the acceptance of a modified Episcopacy. Nothing more than a modified form of it was ever established in Scotland, whether in the days of James, his son, or his grandsons; and the abortive attempt of Charles I. to introduce the liturgical service, in addition to the ecclesiastical polity of England, proved such a disastrous failure that it was never afterwards repeated. I shall have occasion again to enter more fully into the real character of the ecclesiastical measures which the Stewarts sought to enforce on the Scottish people with such pertinacity and cruelty, and which the latter, though at times crushed and silenced, continued to resist to the very death, and in resisting and freeing themselves from which they at last succeeded. But for the present it may suffice to say, that notwithstanding the supremacy of the bishops, who certainly regulated and controlled the affairs of the Church, its administration as regards services and parochial discipline remained throughout essentially Presbyterian, as it had been settled at the Reforma-

tion. The machinery of the Church courts, with their judicatories of kirk-sessions, presbyteries, and synods, continued the same, with this important proviso—that in the last of the three the bishop acted as a perpetual moderator, and practically exercised in all of them an absolute control. In examining, therefore, the kirk-session records of Scottish parishes, we find comparatively little difference in their proceedings and phraseology in the days of Episcopacy from those in the times of Presbytery, unless it be, indeed, in the much greater vigour of administration and discipline which always marks the latter.

In 1629, when the first volume of the Culross session records commences, Mr Robert Colville—of whom, in the preceding chapter, we have had some account—was minister of the parish. He succeeded, as already detailed, Mr John Dykes, who had been appointed minister of Culross as far back as 1567; so that at the period under notice, Mr Colville was the second Protestant minister who had served the cure there since the Reformation. His career, however, was now rapidly approaching its close; and of the following extracts from the kirk-session minutes, there is only one which belongs to the period of his actual ministry. It is not of much interest in itself, but may nevertheless be presented:—

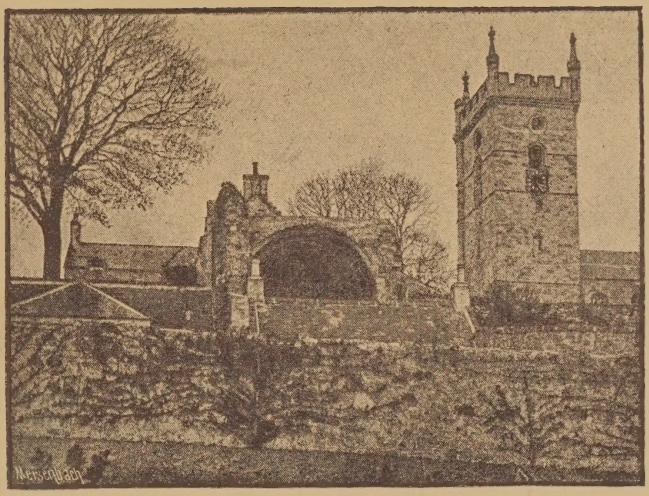
"30 *January* 1631.

"The said day it was havelie regrated by the minister that the West Kirkyaird dykes were not as yett repaired, as

had been concluded and enjoined before, and that the kirk treasurie wad be burdened therewith to much unless remedy was used in tyme, and a way sett down quhereby all such as had through stones might furnish monie for suplie, and perfecting of that work, and some dyat appointed for that end whilk was thought expedient."

It is well known that Culross Church is a collegiate or double charge, and so blessed with the incumbency of two ministers; but it is not so generally apprehended that it actually at one time could boast, if not of three churches, at least of three churchyards. Of one of these—St Mungo's Kirk or Chapel, with its little burying-ground—I shall say nothing at present; and, indeed, it belongs altogether to the past. But there are still two burial-grounds in the parish in actual use. One of them is attached to the Abbey Church, and known as the Abbey Churchyard. The other is called the West Churchyard, and adjoins the West Kirk—an old ruined church situated on the old road, now in great measure disused, leading from Culross through the moor to Kincardine. It is a lonely and sequestered but not unromantic locality—a veritable "God's acre," such as might have inspired Gray to the composition of his "Elegy." Much speculation has prevailed regarding the West Church, of which little more now exists than a portion of the walls, enclosing what must have been an edifice of very small dimensions. Scarcely an authentic record of it has been preserved beyond the following extract from an Act of the Scottish Parliament passed in 1633:—

"Attoure Oure said Soverane lord and estates forsaids of this present Parliament, considering that the abbay kirk of Culrois hes beine the kirk quhairine the cure hes beine servit, be preatching of the Word of God, celebrating the Holy Comwnion, and exercising and vsing of vther ecclesiastical discipline sen the Reformatione, and that the kirk callit the paroche kirk of Culrois is ane old kirk quhairine service is not nor hes not beine vsit since memorie of man, and is altogether ruinous, decayit, and falline down in divers pairts, swa that the said abbay kirk of Culrois is the most apt and fitt kirk for serving of the cure thairat in tyme coming, and be reputt and haldine the ordinar paroche kirk for that effect in all tyme heireftir: Thairfor Our said Soverane lord and estates forsaids, in this present Parliament hes erected, and be thir presents erects, the said kirk callit the abbay kirk in ane frie paroche kirk, to the said burgh of Culrois parochiners, and inhabitants within the said parochine thairof, to be callit in all tyme coming the paroche kirk of Culrois, swa that the inhabitants within the bounds thairof sall nawayes be astricted heirefter to the said auld kirk callit the paroche kirk of Culrois, nor discipline thairof, and vphald the samyne to that effect, bot sall onlie be subject to the discipline to be vsit at the said abbay kirk of Culrois, now to be callit the paroche kirk thairof in all tyme coming; and wills and grants, and for his hienes and his successors decernes and ordaines, that the said abbay kirk, now to be callit the said paroche kirk of Culrois, sall have, bruik, and joyse the like priweledge, jmmwnitie, and libertie as the said auld kirk callit the paroche kirk had at the foundatione thairof, or grantit thereto in any tyme bygaine, with the stipend dew to the said auld paroche kirk, to be payit to the minister present, and to come serving the cure at the said new erectit kirk, and vthers friedomes, liberties, easments, and priweledges quhatsumever, sick as mans and gleib, apperteining to the said auld kirk in tyme coming for now and ever, bot contradictione or impediment."



The ABBEY CHURCH of Culross, with Ruins of Monastery. From the Lower Manse Garden.

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The West Kirk of Culross.

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We know from various sources that the West Church was the same as that described above as "the paroche kirk of Culrois." Such, indeed, was its history and character. Previous to the Reformation it was the real parish church — what is now known as the Abbey or parish Church of Culross being then merely the church of the monastery. The above passage in the Act of 1633 is indeed a very interesting and important one, and may almost be said to be exhaustive as regards the original destination of the West Kirk. It appears that at this date no remembrance existed of its having been used as a place of worship—that no Protestant service had ever been held in it, and that probably even at the Reformation it only existed in a ruined and dilapidated condition. It seems determined, also, that ever since the Reformation the Abbey Church —which prior to that event was only the church of the monastery—had been regularly used as the parish church; that prior to the Reformation and up to 1633 the West Kirk was legally the parish church of Culross, and that the Act of Charles I.'s Parliament above quoted finally deprived it of that character, and transferred its endowments to the Abbey Church, which thus for the first time became *de jure* —what since the Reformation it had been *de facto*— the parish church.

On the 25th of February 1631, Mr Colville died rather suddenly—it would seem, in consequence of being "stricken with a deadly palsie." A great disputation ensued regarding the election of his succes-

sor. The heritors and kirk-session were very anxious to procure the Bishop's sanction to the appointment of a Mr John Murray, who had intimated his readiness to accept the charge provided a suitable "helper" were appointed, "whose maintenance he was most willing himself for the most part to yield, and not to lay burdens on the people, since hithertill now he had never sought for one earthlie reward nor stipend." In this offer we have the first intimation of the idea, which was now coming to be generally entertained, of the desirability of having a colleague appointed to the minister, and a double charge established, in the church of Culross. But notwithstanding this liberal proposal on his part, the commissioners appointed by the kirk-session to transact the business reported "that it was an impossibilitie to gett Mr Johne Murray, for reasons known by the Bishope and them, which were not thought expedient to express in write." They next proceed to say that they had "sett their mindes on Mr John Duncan, present minister of Sauling [Saline], whom, with the Bishop's consent (being both qualified and of good report), they had sought, who also conditionalle had wealnew yielded and consented to be their minister."

A hitch in the proceedings was threatened by a manœuvre on the part of the laird of Earlshall, who contrived to procure on behalf of his son, Mr Robert Bruce, a presentation from the Crown to the living of Culross, notwithstanding that another had already been obtained in favour of Mr Duncan. In these

circumstances the Bishop of Dunblane left the decision of the matter in the hands of the heritors and kirk-session, who, on the question being put to the vote, almost unanimously declared their adhesion to the appointment of Mr Duncan; and to this deliverance, though not without considerable difficulty, effect was ultimately given.

Culross was episcopally in the diocese of Dunblane, and, as we have seen, subject to the government of its bishop. But it was also in the Presbytery of Dunfermline—though this does not seem to have been the case originally, and for a considerable period after the Reformation. It had then belonged to the Presbytery of Dunblane, like the adjoining parish of Tulliallan; and the disjunction had taken place about the time when Mr Colville was appointed minister. Just before the Revolution, as we find from the 'Register of the Diocesan Synod of Dunblane,' recently edited by Dr Wilson, a movement was made to have it again united with the old confederation; but the overthrow of Episcopacy stopped all further action in the matter. Culross has always regarded Dunfermline as her metropolis in all social and domestic concerns—though, as regards civil and criminal jurisdiction, her capital is Dunblane.

Having thus got Mr Duncan finally settled as minister, in opposition to the scion of the Earlshall family, we shall not, for some time to come, find much to disturb the tranquillity of the parish. The chronicles are chiefly of the small-beer order.

"22 *April* 1632.

"Quo die, with uniforme consent, it was ordained that if any man his horse, kow, or beast shall be found aither by night or by day eating grass in either of kirkyairds, both West Kirkyaird and Abbey Kirkyaird, the master or owner to pay *ad pios usus;* and for this cause, the dykes to be repaired with diligence."

"13 *May* 1632.

"Item, compeired James Peacock, and being accused for his kow eating in the kirkyaird—confessit—ordained to pay 40 sh., according to the late Act maid thereanent."

"24 *June* 1632.

"The said day it was ordained that all who had not brought stones to the West Kirkdyk, to be warned, and in time to bring the same."

"8 *July* 1632.

"The said day ordained James Peacock to pass throw the rest of the parochiners who had not ledd in stones for a mending of the West Kirkyaird, and to warn them to bring their stones, under pain of disobedience."

"22 *of Julie* 1632.

"Isabell Cowston called for buying and selling butter with James Benny in tyme of sermon, compeared both, who confessed their fault, and after admonition, were pardoned for the first fault."

Some scolds, male and female, are called up and reproved. Scolding or "flyting" seems, from both the parochial and burgh records, to have been a very besetting sin with our ancestors—more especially the fair sex—for whose accommodation and reformation the branks and ducking-stool were in frequent

requisition. Even Sunday shone no Sabbath-day, for such explosions. The authorities considered it as a delinquency which they were bound to inquire into and punish; but Witty Eppie, the famous alewife of Buckhaven, of chap-book notoriety, took a more sensible view of the matter. In her house we are told that the wives "had their fill o' flytin'"; but no blows were allowed, for, as Eppie used to declare, "Aff hands was fair-play."

"12 *August* 1632.

"Item, called Archd. Tailyeour, with his wyf Margaret Smythe, and accused for continued stryving and flyting on the Lord's Day with James Sinclair and his wyf Bessie Tailyeour. Continued to the next meeting."

"26 *August* 1632.

"The quhilk day called Archd. Buckham, with his wyf Margaret Izatt, and Cecil Brunston, as also Archd. Tailzeour, with his wyf Margaret Smythe, and James Sinclair, with his wyf Bessie Tailzeour, who, all accused of scolding and flyting on the Lord's Day, could not deny; but the matter being cleared by Thomas Izat, butcher, that the men were not so in the fault as thrie of the women—vizt., Bessie Tailzeour, Margaret Ezat, and Cecil Brunton—therefore the men were gravelie admonished not to committ the lyk, and dimitted. But the women were ordained to be brought to the market cross the next Saturday, and to stand there in the space of one hour for examplis sake, and that for their scolding on the Lord's Day."

The following extract is interesting as showing the names and designations at this early period of the elders in the church of Culross. The list is most beautifully written in the original, and proves that the

old reputation of the monks of Culross in caligraphy was still admirably maintained in the hands of their Presbyterian successors. One or two of the names, it will be observed, have been subsequently deleted, but the complement was probably made up by the substitution of others. At the present day, one is surprised to find such a multitude of elders or office-bearers in the church—thirty in all, or fifteen for the town and fifteen for the country. And afterwards, as we shall see, this number was increased. The fact is, that under the old Presbyterian polity the office of elder was regarded as a very serious and responsible one. Along with one or two others, he had a special district assigned him, within which he was expected to act as the deputy or assistant of the minister—to visit at stated times every household, and see that its members were exemplary in their conduct and diligent in the fulfilment of their religious duties. He was to rebuke and exhort, be diligent in detecting the existence of any sin or delinquency, and was bound to report all such, or even rumours of such, to the minister and kirk-session. In short, the *posse* of elders acted very much as a sort of moral policemen, or ecclesiastical detectives, and we shall have many instances of their unwearied vigilance in ferreting out scandals and haling offenders to justice. Whatever may be thought now of the inquisitorial nature of the sway which they exercised, or the ridiculous nature of the charges which as members of the kirk-session they solemnly investigated and adjudicated upon, it must always

be remembered that they took the great majority of the country along with them, and had the support of almost all the respectable and God-fearing portion of the community. Toleration and indifference were, with our earnest-minded ancestors, convertible terms; and neither Episcopalians nor Presbyterians had yet attained to any proper ideas of the rights of private judgment and liberty of conscience—at least to any idea of the right of exercising individual liberty in matters of religious worship and practice. We may smile now at the extravagances of the Puritans and Covenanters—and nothing is more open to ridicule than an excess of religious zeal, or extravagance in religious phraseology; but we ought always to bear in mind the infinite debt of gratitude which we lie under to those men for the determined and self-sacrificing resistance which they made to the pretensions of tyranny ecclesiastical and civil, and the foundation which they thereby laid of all our present liberty and independence. Nor even, as Dr M'Crie has very well shown in the review of the 'Tales of My Landlord,' had the Scottish Presbyterians any such monopoly in the art of saying and doing ridiculous things as it has commonly been the fashion to credit them with. Some specimens which he gives of the discourses of Episcopalian divines are about as absurd as any of those recorded in that curious and somewhat apocryphal volume, entitled 'Scottish Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed.' And generally it will be well to recollect, that in the change of

manners and fashions, what in one age appears serious and becoming, may in a following one only seem ludicrous and reprehensible.

"7 *October* 1632.

"Elders on lete nominat be chosen for the

Land.		*Towne.*
John Colvile of Comrie	1	George Bruce of Carnock.
John Erskine of Balgownie	2	James Aikine of Middle Grange.
John Hamiltone of Blaire	3	M. Edward Blaw [deleted].
S. John Prestoune of Valefield	4	Adam Primrose [deleted].
Robert Bruce of Blairhall	5	Thomas Ezate.
Gilbert Gourlay of Wester Grange . . .	6	John Haliday.
James Bruce of Bordie .	7	Robert Forret.
Adam Mastertoune of East Grange . . .	8	John Sands.
Allane Blaw of Castell Hill	9	Mr Robert Gourlay.
Wm. Sands of Birkenhead	10	Patrick Rowane.
Patrick Bruce . .	11	Patrick Keir [deleted].
John Turcane . .	12	Andrew Gibsone.
John Gray . . .	13	Alexander Ezate.
Hendrie Cowey . .	14	Andrew Brande.
John Kalender . .	15	James Sands.

"Item, this roll was ordained to be intimat out of pulpit the 14 of October, and that, (if any of the congregation wald pretend lawful cause why these may not ruell,[1]) they would come upon the 18 of October, and gif them in, with assurance to be heard."

It is evident from the above, that so far from the members of the kirk-session belonging to an inferior class of the community, as has sometimes been imagined, they comprised really—at least in the older

[1] Rule—*i.e.*, govern or act as elders.

days of Presbytery—the most influential persons of the town and adjoining country. With two exceptions all the elders mentioned have special duties and districts assigned them, and the deletion of three of the names must have been made at a subsequent date. As concerns the two exceptions in question —that is to say, John Erskine of Balgownie and George Bruce of Carnock—it is not improbable that for them, as the most distinguished of the company, the honourable and comparatively light duty of presiding over the collections at the church door was reserved; whilst it is also extremely likely that on all solemn occasions, such as the celebration of the Communion, they took precedence of the others.

Reference has already been made to John Colville of Comrie, who heads the list of elders in 1632, and who must now have been a man advanced in years, seeing that more than forty years had elapsed since he, as the eldest son and heir of Alexander Colville the Commendator, had made over the estates of Culross Abbey to his uncle, Sir James Colville of Easter Wemyss, afterwards the first Lord Colville of Culross. We know almost nothing personally of John Colville of Comrie, but his wife, Elizabeth Melville of Halhill, has achieved a considerable reputation under the designation of "Lady Culross," so renowned as a devout Presbyterian, and the authoress of a poem entitled "Ane Godlie Dream," or "Lady Culross's Dream." She was the friend and correspondent of Mr Livingstone, the minister of Ancrum, in whose autobiography, edited by Mr Tweedie for the Wod-

row Society, her religious fervour is referred to as of the most wonderful description. One scene in particular, on the night following a Communion occasion at the Kirk of Shotts in June 1630, when she displayed an extraordinary gift of prayer, forms a remarkable chapter in the records of Presbyterian enthusiasm.

A number of letters are preserved addressed by Lady Culross to Mr Livingstone, chiefly in or about the year 1631. Her "Dream," first published, it would appear, at Aberdeen in 1644, displays a moderate degree of ability on the favourite theme of a visit to the unseen world, but is by no means of so appalling or sensational a description as has been sometimes reported. She had three sons, Alexander, James, and Samuel. The first of these seems to have studied for the Church, went abroad to France, became professor of divinity at Sedan, and married a French lady, Anne le Blanc. James, the second son, is said to have occasioned his mother great uneasiness by his conduct; and a similar feeling seems to have possessed her regarding her youngest son Samuel, of whom, in one of her letters, she speaks as going to the College of St Andrews, "bot I fear him deadly." How far Samuel may have given her serious cause for apprehension we know not, but he certainly did not inherit the strong Presbyterian proclivities of his mother. On the contrary, he has attained some reputation as the author of 'The Scots Hudibras,' or 'The Whigs' Supplication,' a burlesque narrative of a supposed expedition of the

Scotch Presbyterians to London to implore the clemency of Charles II., and a mitigation of the oppressive measures against the Covenanters. It is not altogether destitute of merit, and displays some coarse wit, but falls far short in general ability of the celebrated work of Butler, on which it is modelled. I do not know when the first edition was published, but a reprint appeared at St Andrews in 1796 by James Morison, the University printer. It had evidently been issued before the Revolution. Samuel Colville refers to his mother's poem, "Lady Culross's Dream," but gives no indication of his belongings or relationship beyond the following quotation in his preface or "Apology to the Reader," from "John Cockburn":—

> "Samuel was sent to France,
> To learn to sing and dance,
> And play upon a fiddle:
> Now he's a man of great esteem,—
> His mother got him in a dream,
> At Culross on a girdle."[1]

So much for John Colville of Comrie and his family. The title assumed by his wife of "Lady Culross," or "Lady Culross the younger," occasions some perplexity. I have already given some account of the first lord, and mentioned that he was succeeded by his grandson James, as the second Lord Colville of Culross. The latter is commonly stated in the Peerages to have died in 1640

[1] An allusion, of course, to the manufacture for which Culross was once celebrated.

without issue, and the succession to the title is then said to have devolved on his father's cousin, the above-mentioned John Colville, Laird of Comrie, who, however, never claimed it, as did neither his son, grandson, nor great-grandson. It was first again taken up in 1723 by John Colville, an officer in the army, great-grandson of Alexander Colville, the professor of divinity at Sedan, and great-great-grandson of John Colville, the son of the Commendator, and husband of the authoress of "Lady Culross's Dream."

Now in some important particulars the above account is wholly erroneous, and its recent rectification is due to the researches of a member of the family, who has obligingly communicated to me the result of his investigation.[1] It appears from these that, so far from James, the second Lord Colville of Culross, dying in 1640 without issue, he survived till about 1655, was three times married, and left by his second wife two sons, William and John, who seem both to have died young, but to have nevertheless borne successively the titles of third and fourth Lords Culross. On the death of the last, about 1667, the peerage became dormant till 1723, when it was claimed by and awarded to the above-mentioned John Colville, great-grandson of the divinity professor at Sedan. From him, and conse-

[1] Its correctness has been acknowledged by Sir Bernard Burke, who has, in consequence, made a corresponding alteration in the family memoir of the Lords Colville of Culross in the last edition of his 'Peerage.'

quently also from Lady Culross and her husband John Colville of Comrie, the eldest son of the Commendator, the present Lord Colville of Culross is lineally descended. He owns no property, however, of any kind about Culross, the extensive possessions of his ancestors in that district having apparently all been disposed of before the close of the seventeenth century.

James, second Lord Colville of Culross, seems to have been a man of very doubtful character. In 1639 he figures in the kirk-session records of Culross on an arraignment of immorality brought against him by a certain Catherine Turcan, whose charge, however, is not found proven, and his lordship is ultimately purged of it by his own oath before the congregation. He seems to have left the country shortly afterwards, and passed over to Ireland, where during Cromwell's expedition he served with considerable distinction, and had a grant of lands made to him in Kilkenny. His first wife had died before he left Scotland, and he seems to have married his second and third in Ireland, where he ultimately himself died about 1655. Before the birth of his two sons, however, by his second marriage, John Colville of Comrie was heir-presumptive to the peerage, and he and his wife may consequently have enjoyed by courtesy the respective titles of Lord and Lady Culross the younger. I can devise, at least, no more feasible explanation. It is certain that neither of them could ever have held the title by legal right.

As regards the second on the list of elders, John Erskine of Balgownie, he was a lineal descendant of Robert, fourth Earl of Mar, whose son, James Erskine, acquired the estate of Balgownie, and was on his mother's side descended from John Campbell of New Milns and Loudoun, one of the thirty Lollards who were prosecuted by Archbishop Blackadder, and only escaped by the favour of James IV. He espoused with great zeal the cause of the Reformation, and transmitted his Presbyterian zeal to his descendants. One of these appears frequently in the kirk-session and burgh records in the early part of the last century as Sir John Erskine of Balgownie, having been raised to the rank of knighthood. The male representation terminated in his son, Mr John Erskine, advocate, who was succeeded in the estate of Balgownie by his sister Hannah. She married in 1736 John Cunningham, younger of Comrie, and their only son was the Rev. Robert Cunningham, minister of the Antiburgher congregation at East Barns, in East Lothian. The circumstance of his being connected with that Church seems to have arisen from his mother having married, as her second husband, Mr Adam Gibb, one of the leading Secession ministers of Edinburgh. Mr Cunningham was the great-grandfather of the late Captain John Cunningham of Balgownie, who was thus a lineal descendant of the Earls of Mar.[1]

[1] For this information regarding the Balgownie family, I have mainly been indebted to the MS. lectures of the late Rev. W. Stephen of Culross.

The third elder on the list, John Hamilton of Blair—or as it is now called, Blair Castle—was a descendant, probably a grandson, of the famous Archbishop Hamilton, who was hanged at Stirling after the capture of Dumbarton Castle in 1571. This unfortunate Churchman is said to have built the old house of Blair, which was in existence to the end of the last century. Among his illegitimate offspring, besides the father of John Hamilton, was a daughter Margaret, who married Robert Bruce of Blairhall, elder brother of the first Lord Kinloss, and father of the Robert Bruce who figures fifth in our list. This last-named Robert Bruce of Blairhall married Catherine, daughter of Sir John Preston of Valleyfield, also recorded there. They were the parents of Thomas Bruce of Blairhall, and his brother Sir William Bruce of Kinross, the celebrated architect.

I shall not trouble my readers at present with any further remarks on the individuals whose names are recorded in the above list, as I have already diverged rather unduly from my main subject, and opportunities will again occur of referring to them, as well as to the localities of which they are appointed supervisors. Returning to the kirk-session records, we find noted the occurrence of a destructive storm which has rendered the repair of the church necessary :—

"16 *February* 1633.

"Item, since upon the 8 of Feb. 1633 that most impetuous storm of wind had spoiled and tyrred manie pieces both of stiple, kirk, and queire, Gilbert Gourlay, Adam Primrose,

John Haliday, John Sands, Alexander Ezat, together with Andro Broun, wright, and John Anderson, slatter, were ordained to sight the edifice of the kirk, and to give their judgment both for the cost and most commodious way to repair the same, as also to consider what expenses the same would require for amending of the said rooffe, and to report."

Here is a specimen of Sabbath desecration which would scarcely happen at the present day, though we are much less strict than our ancestors on the question of Sunday observance :—

"17 *April* 1633.

"Playaris at the goffe were given to the session, playing in tyme of sermon—viz., Rt. Gray, Rt. Primrose, Wm. Inche, and John Sandis in Sands. Ordained to compeir next meeting."

"28 *April* 1633.

"Compeared Rt. Gray, confessed playing in time of sermon—ordained to pay 12/: cautioner Patrick Bruce. Item, Wm. Inche ordained to pay 12/: cautioner Andrew Brand. Item, Rt. Primrose ordained to pay 12/: cautioner Pat. Bruce."

An ordinance is issued against "outlandish drunkards"—that is to say, strangers who frequented the Culross market on Saturday and protracted their convivialities into the Sunday :—

"4 *May* 1634.

"Quo die the session being frequently convened, and some outlanders being found drunk in tyme of sermon—viz., Wm. Huison and Wm. Day, indwellers in the Kruk of Devoun[1]

[1] The Crook of Devon, a village between Dollar and Kinross, and so called from the bend which the Devon takes at this point, was in ancient times noted for its cattle-fairs.

—after regrat made that certain mealmen, fleashers, and others marketmen did tarry all night fra their dwelling-houses and paroch kirk, drinking all the Saturday over-night till Sonday in the morning, yea and till afternoon upon the Lord His Day, drinking the wholl tyme, and so thereafter departing drunk, to the great offence of God and His people: Therefore, for redress of the premises, it was uniformlie statute and ordained that first inquirie be made of such persons by the magistrates and searchers, and such like outlandish drunkards being apprehendit personallie be the foresaid magistrates, or that they be detained in firmancie till they satisfie or find sufficient caution to obey accordingly; and that all sellers of drink to such, and accepters of them, shall pay *ad pios usus* 40 sh. how often soever they sal be found guiltie, whether those accepters be toune folk or parochiners in any other part whatsoever of the parochine of Culross. And thir presents to be intimat out of pulpit the next Sabboth, and at the market-cross the Saturday preceding, that none pretend ignorance; quhilk was done accordingly."

"18 *January* 1635.

"Quo die compeared David Clerk, and accused of shooting doves in tyme of sermon, confessed the samen; ordered to pay 12s., or else to be punished in body."

"8 *March* 1635.

"James Hunter's house at the new mylne delated to be a common receptacle of drunkards in time of sermon."

The reader may be reminded here of Tam o' Shanter's misdoings:—

> "That at the Lord's house, even on Sunday,
> Thou drank wi' Kirkton Jean till Monday."

"Act anent Vaigeries fra the Kirk.

"22 *May* 1636.

"Be reason of John Oat, Donald Glass, and James Porteous, or any other, walking, talking, lying, or sleeping in any pairt or place whatsomever, but namlie in the kirkyaird, in tyme of sermon, herefore it is statute and ordained that whosoever person or persons shall be found so doing in tyme of sermon as said is, that those guilty and violators of the premisses, shall pay *ad pios usus* six shillings *toties quoties;* and same Act to be intimate out of the pulpit without delay."

It took a long time to train the Scottish people to Sabbath observance, after the laxity to which they had been accustomed in Popish times. People would persist in continuing their ordinary vocations on Sunday, notwithstanding all the denunciations of the kirk-session. A whimsically severe warning is recorded in the following:—

"29 *May* 1636.

"Quo die compeared Wm. Tulloch, who inacted himself that if it should be proven that he or anie of his were working at the saltpans in time of divyne service, he should be content to be put in waird, and to live there 8 dayes on bread and watter on his own charges."

"Act anent Brydell Lawings.

"17 *July* 1636.

"Item, anent brydell lawings, it is ordained that ther shall be at brydells invited but 24 persons on both the sydes, and the lawing to be only ten shillings for each person. And if it shall happen that either the number of persons be mor or over the pryce for ilk person greater than is

above sett down and modified, that then thes failzie and penaltie shall be 10 lbs. *toties quoties;* and the transgressors—viz., makeris of such brydells—to be punished in exacting the foresaid onlay (without respect of persons), be the bailyees in the toun, and be the land bailyies in the land; and the same penalties to be delyvered be them *ad pios usus.*"

The next extract is of a very interesting kind, as showing the tenacity with which the common people clung to the old Popish superstitions in connection with pilgrimages to chapels, holy wells, and other places, presided over by certain saints, who were supposed to exercise a benign influence in the cure of various maladies. The Reformed Church set its face strenuously against such practices, but all its endeavours were for a long time futile:—

"16 *Julie* 1637.

"Jhon Ker and Jhon Duncan, websters, called in for going with Hearie Wannan, he distracted in his wittes, to the chappell of Stuthle, in Stratherne, he confessed, because they wer informed that ther he might recover his health. It was judged a great scandall and offence; and therefore ar ordered to mak ther repentance publicklie before the congregation, and to pay *ad pios usus* each of them half a dollar, and to be imprisoned 24 hours.

"For this cause an Act was made that whosoever in the parishe should presume to goe to such suspect places for to sek ther health, or sould accompanie thos that under sickness to use such suspect means, to be banished the parishe."

The chapel of "Stuthle" is evidently the same as that of Struthell, in the parish of Muthil in Perthshire, regarding which and its well, which attracted

hosts of pilgrims, interesting corroborative testimony is furnished in the Appendix to the 'Register of the Diocesan Synod of Dunblane' already quoted.

Just one week after the deliverance of the Culross kirk-session regarding the superstitious weavers and their friend Harry Wannan, Charles I. made his ill-judged and abortive attempt to force the Service-book on the Scottish people. The Dean of Edinburgh began to read the collect for the day in St Giles's Church, Edinburgh; Jenny Geddes threw her stool at his head, and the Service-book never again was brought forward, even in the terrible persecuting days between the Restoration and the Revolution. A commotion was produced in Scotland that resulted in the complete triumph of Presbytery for a time. Great exertions were made by the leaders of the movement to secure the general concurrence of country congregations in protesting against the introduction of a liturgy. The appeal was readily responded to. Here are the utterances of the kirk-session of Culross on the subject:—

"1 *October* 1637.

"This day was proponed the fear that we were in about this Service-book now intending and urging against all order, and which all full of superstition and Popery, and that others already troubled for the same—it was therefore agreed upon for to give in a supplication in name of this paroch to the Counsell against the said book."

"14 *Octr.* 1637.

"The session frequently convened, did deliberat what wes most expedient to be done anent the matter of this Service-

book, since ther wes a counsell day the week following; whereupon it wes resolved that for the land there should go to Edinr. to attend the counsell ther for this busines as commissioners from the said parishe, Sir John Prestoun of Valeyfield, Robert Bruce of Blairhall, and Mr David Gourlay, to joyne with others in giving in supplication, and using any other mean in their wisdom that should be found expedient, whereto all with one consent agreed right willingly."

The famous TABLES have been constituted, and the NATIONAL COVENANT is being subscribed in the Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh. Culross appoints commissioners :—

"*March* 11, 1638.

"Lykwyse this day the session appoints ther commissioners to concur with the Presbytrie for subscriving of the Covenant of the land, according as wes appointed by the tables in Edinr.: commissioners for the lands wer, Jhon Erskine of Balgownie, Sir John Prestoun of Valeyfield, Robert Bruce of Blairhall; for the toun, Jho. Haliday, Archd. Anderson, and Rot. Forret, clerk."

CHAPTER VII.

THE KIRK-SESSION RECORDS FROM 1640 TO 1646.

IN the following ordinances for the celebration of the Communion at Culross, we find the first intimation of an order which is frequently repeated afterwards on similar occasions—that all intending participators in the rite should be at harmony with one another and make up their quarrels. This was doubtless a very desirable consummation, but it may well be questioned whether such enforced reconciliations could be productive of much benefit.

"8 *March* 1640.

"This day it was proponed to the session that the tyme of celebrating the Communion that is used to be keipit in this congregation wes aproching, therfor that the session would think of the first dyett, who all agreitt that it seemed the fittest time would be that Sonday come a fifteen dayes —viz., the 22 of March for the first day, and the 29 day for the second day, and so was appointed. Lykwise it was desyred that if the eldership knew of any discords, that they would stryve to reconcile them, otherwise to acquaint the session therewith, that all may come in love to that blessed sacrament."

"28 *March* 1640.

"Likewise it is declared by the elders that they have reconciled the most part of those that are at variance, onlie David Lyells differed with Harie Barie and Hew Mitchell, two voises in Bordie to be torne away. Therfor the saids parties being warned are called, and declare they willinglie will be reconciled, on condition that ther be an Act for keeping them so for the time to come. Therfor they do inact themselves *hinc inde*, that if they sall be found to slander other, in that caice they shall make their repentance and crave other pardon, and give £10 *ad pios usus*."

On 25th June 1640, a minute is entered of another election of elders, with the districts of which they are respectively to take charge. As in the list of 1632, several of the names have been subsequently deleted. The number has been increased from thirty to thirty-six.

The Scottish army had now crossed the Border, and routed the King's forces at Newburn. Doubtless there were many applications in consequence like the following:—

"18 *Dec.* 1640.

"James Millar his wife gave in a supplication for some help, because her goodman was in the campe; and it was thought miet for the present to give her twenty-four shillings."

Presbytery is now triumphant, and proceeds to suppress the festival days of Prelacy, more especially Christmas:—

"22 *December* 1640.

"An Act was produced from the Presbytrie against keeping of festival days, and especially Yule Day, and

wes ordained to be registrat in this our session-book, and to be read publicly before the wholl congregation, that none pretend ignorance."

"DUNFERMLINE,
tenth day of Decr. 1640 *years.*

"The Presbetrie, considering the great abuses in tyme past in keeping of festivall dayes, and especially the keeping of Yule Day, by feasting, cessation fra ordinar work in labour, and the spending of the day in riotous playing and ydle living, quhilkes abuses are contrair to our Covenant and Acts of Generall Assembly—ordaines all persons the said Yule Day to leave off their feasting and playing, and goe to their ordinar work, under all highest censure of the Kirk, and that the elders of every congregation shall give good example to the rest of the congregation in obeying the said Act by themselves and their families, and that every minister of the said Presbytrie notifie the same to their sessiones the next session day, and therafter the Sabbath following to be intimat and red publicly, to the end that none pretend ignorance. Extracted furth of the Presbetrie books of Dunfermling be Patrick Kingorne, clerk to the same."

After reading the above, one can certainly scarcely be surprised that Presbytery should so often have been regarded as a most dreary and repulsive form of Christianity. But the dread of the Old Lady of Babylon was great—and justly so—in those days, when the tendencies of the leading ecclesiastics at Court lay so much in the direction of a return to the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. Every practice, however harmless or even beneficial in itself, if enjoined by Rome, and not expressly ordered by the Holy Scriptures, was regarded as unwarranted and dangerous by the Presbyterians, who considered the

safest course was to deviate as far as possible from the pathways of the ancient faith. And considering that their Church courts were essentially popular in their constitution, and comprised a large and influential lay element, we must believe that their proceedings were generally sanctioned by public opinion, and were by no means the mere outcome of clerical dogmatism and spiritual tyranny.

The appointment of a helper or colleague to the minister had been mooted for some time. A minute in the session-book, dated 9th May 1641, is the earliest intimation of proceedings having actually commenced to accomplish that purpose. The result was the establishment of a double or collegiate charge in Culross; but, as we shall see, this was not effected till some years afterwards.

According to old ecclesiastical ideas, it was deemed imperative on all to attend their own parish church, however inconveniently distant they might be from it, or however near to their residence might be the church of another parish. In the case of Communions certainly, when several churches were vacant, to swell the number of clergymen officiating in the place where the Sacrament was celebrated, it was not merely regarded as permissible, but a duty, for the inhabitants of different parishes to attend on that occasion. But in general, "vaiging" from one's own parish church to another was nearly as serious an offence as not attending church at all. The following entries record this and other irregularities on Sunday, the "bitter" observance of which, as

some would term it, is now beginning to be enforced with great rigour :—

"4 *July* 1641.

"The sessione, considering the great abuse of peoples resorting to nighbour kirks and leaving of their own parish kirk, therefor thought miet to mak this Act following: That whosoever shall resort to other kirks about, and leave their owne parish kirk, shall be delated and punished as absents."

"8 *Augt.* 1641.

"Archibald Coalyer and Robert Smith called, accusit for cutting of wands on the Sabbath-day, confessed their fault, and made their repentance according to the order; and because that oftene they were found in this fault, ane Act was made for them and the wholl craft, that whosoever shall be found after or before sermon on Sabboth-day in the fault, shall be punished as transgressors of the Sabbath-day.

"Ane Act was made for those who stand in the kirkyard or parlyhill discoursing and talking when God's Word is reading in the kirk, shall be delated to the session and punished accordingly—to pay 6 sh. This Act to be intimat the next Sabbath, which was done."

"23 *November* 1641.

"William Makeane delated be the searchers for drinking with a fiddler on the Sabboth-day in tyme of afternoon sermon, and to be warned against the next day."

"30 *November* 1641.

"William Makeane callit, accused for profaning the Lord's Day in drinking in tyme of service with a fiddler; confessed his fault, and to pay 6 sh."

14*th Dec.* 1641.—Of this date a discharge is recorded in the session-books in favour of Thomas

Bruce of Blairhall, son and heir to Robert Bruce of Blairhall, for the sum of a thousand merks, mortified by the latter as a provision for a second minister or helper, and now paid by the former to the kirk-session of Culross. The money was bequeathed by Robert Bruce in his will, dated October 1639.

Mr Duncan, the minister of Culross, espouses zealously the new order of things, which under his auspices develops itself vigorously in Culross:—

"3 *April* 1642.

"The minister asked the elders what diligence they had used anent the trying who wes negligent in the dewtie of family exercise so often recommended to them, and a particular course to be taken for urging the samine."

"Johne Gib, accused of dinging his wyf on the Sabboth-day in his drunkenness, confessed his fault; ordained to mak his repentance publicly before the pulpit, and to stand betwixt the second and third bell bareheaded at the kirk-door, and to pay 12 sh.—paid. Satisfied, and withal enacted himself, if ever he be found hireafter to straike his wyf, in that caise he shall sit at the cross with the branks, and to stand barefooted at the kirk door and pay a dollar."

The branks was the bridle for scolds. It was fastened by a clasp at the back of the head, and the bit was provided with a little rowel like that of a spur, which, being placed on the tongue, effectually prevented the least motion on the part of that unruly member. A pair of branks hangs up in one of the vaults of the old castle of Fordel, near Inverkeithing.

"10 *April* 1642.

"John Fiddes, elder, callit, accused for breaking of the Saboth; confessed his fault, and ordiened to pay 12 sh.

"Andrew Duthie, callit, accused for not keeping the Saboth; confessed his fault sincerly, and promised amendment.

"Thomas Sands, callit, accused for bargning in buying and selling of a horse with Robert Ronnald; confessed his fault, and to pay 12 sh., and enacted himself under the pane of a double punishment if ever he be found in the lyk fault.

"Robert Ronnald, callit; confessed the samyne to be of truth, and to pay 6 sh., and because he knew not what commandment he had broken, wes ordined within twentie days to rehears the commandments, otherways to be layable to the censure of the sessione."

George Bruce of Carnock, who had succeeded to his father's lands and coal and salt works in this parish, proposes to build a mausoleum, and also an aisle, as an addition to the church. His name is still to be read over the door leading to the latter, with the date 1642.

"Act for Fisching of Croies.

"8 *May* 1642.

"The sessione, considering the great abuse and prophanation of the Saboth by fisching of crois in the west part, thought miet to mak an Act as followeth: That if any be found on the Saboth-day fisching or attending the crois at any tyme ather befor or after sermone, shall pay *toties quoties* 12 sh., and to be intimat the next Saboth,—which wes done."

The "crois" or "cruive" fishing was chiefly practised on the coast of that part of Culross parish which was afterwards disjoined from it and annexed to Tulliallan. A particular account of it and of the Sabbath desecration in connection therewith will be found in the chapter on the Kirk-session Records of the latter parish.

"22 *May* 1642.

"The kirk officer's wyf of Torriburn callit, accused for selling of aill on the Saboth-day; confessed her fault, and promised amendment.

"David Don callit, accused for making a brydel supper in time of afternoon service; confessed his fault, and to pay 13 sh."

A tolerably effectual course is taken for checking some of the Sunday loiterers in the churchyard or on the Parlyhill:—

"To be intimat the next Saboth, that if any of the poor be found in the kirkyaird, parlyhill, or one the streit before or after sermon, or in tyme of sermon, to be delated to the sessione, and their names presently to be steaped out of the roll, and so to be debarred from that benefit."

Beside cruive-fishing, another great form of Sabbath desecration in Culross and Tulliallan was in keeping the fires in the salt-works burning after a certain hour on Sunday morning—or, as it was expressed, "not having the pan drawn in time." The attention of the kirk-session is frequently directed to this:—

"19 *June* 1642.

"Hendrie Wannane callit, accused for having his panne not drawene at ten hours on Sunday last; confessed his fault, and ordined to pay in penaltie 24 sh."

Here is a contemptible offender :—

"26 *June* 1642.

"Robert Davidson, accused for fisching of other men's crowes in his drunkennes on the Lord's Day, confessed his fault; ordinet to mak his repentance publicly, and to pay 24 sh. Satisfied."

The people in the west part of Culross—that is to say, about Kincardine—seem to have been frequently before the session, and thus occasioned the church officer many a long trudge to summon them :—

"3 *July* 1642.

"James Huttone, kirk officer, explained that every day he was trubled warning of these people of the west part of the parish, and never got any consideration for his paines be the sessione; therfor ordined that he should reseave 2 sh. of ther penaltie *toties quoties* as he should be warning of the west of the parish."

The following applicant for aid was probably, with her family, a fugitive, in consequence of the Irish massacre :—

"10 *July* 1642.

"Isobel Knesone, a distressed woman from Yrland, borne within this toune, gauve in a bill desyring some helpe to convey hir to England, with her husband and bairns, where shee may find her calling—to reseave 4 dollars."

"13 *August.*

"Johne Stephenson, accused for vaiging from the kirk on the Lord's Day, confessed his fault, and payed 24 sh."

"James Craich, accused for having his daughter carrying bread from Culros to Kincarne on the Saboth-day, promised amendment, and not to be found in the lyk hirafter, God willing."

The sacramental occasion is over, and discipline is now to be exercised against those absent from or debarred from partaking of the rite :—

"21 *Septr.* 1642.

"Callit John Smith, accused for absenting himself from the Communion, confessed his fault; ordiened to stand the next Lord's Day at the kirk door betwixt the 2 and 3 bell, bearfooted and bearheaded, and thereafter to mak his repentance publicklie.

"The persons following, because of ther ignorance, wer debared—to wit, Johne Stephansone, Bess Cooper, Margt. New, and Bessy Benny—under the pain of the highest censure, and to pay ther hail year's fie, if they were not able against Martinmas next to rehearse the Lord's Prayer, Belief, and Ten Commandments, and to answer the ordinary Catechism."

Legal officers have no immunity from kirk-session jurisdiction :—

"25 *Septr.* 1642.

"Robert Hendrie, messenger, accused for charging[1] of people on the Lord's Day, wes exhorted to amend, and inacted as followeth, that if he be found guiltie of the said fault hierafter, shall be punished as a breaker of the Lord's Day."

The kirk-session seem disposed to obey in the letter, if not in the spirit, the apostolic injunction,

[1] Citing by legal process to pay a sum of money or perform some act.

"Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others" :—

"30 *October* 1642.

"To remember the minister to wreat to the ministers of the other syd[1] anent the saltpanes, which wer seene going ordinarily one the Saboth-day."

Parents are obliged to see that their sons are, at the proper age, set to some honest calling :—

"20 *December* 1642.

"Thomas Patone and William Huttone accused for keeping ther sonnes (being now come to perfect years for a calling) idle and vaigeing through the toune, promised to tak a course for putting them to some honest calling shortly."

In February 1643, there were in Culross nineteen elders for the land, and seventeen for the town—in all, thirty-six—conform to list in session-book. Among those for the town are "George Bruce, Provost," builder of the "yle" above referred to; and "Edward Bruce,"—the latter being, doubtless, the former's eldest son, afterwards Earl of Kincardine.

An alarm is raised as to the prevalence of sorcery and witchcraft; and from the entry quoted below, it would appear that the ecclesiastical authorities thought it necessary to provide accommodation in the church steeple for the anticipated overflow of prisoners on these charges from the tolbooth. The place of confinement was doubtless the large apartment on the first floor of the steeple, below the clock-

[1] That is to say, in Borrowstounness and other places on the south side of the Forth, opposite Culross.

room, where the bell-ropes are suspended. Though weird-looking and dreary enough, it can scarcely be denominated a chamber of little ease, as it is sufficiently spacious and lofty. A view of the Forth and the Lothian shore can be obtained by scrambling up to the small window on the south side; and through a hole in the groined arch supporting the floor, the entrance-porch beneath to the church, with the worshippers passing through it, might be contemplated every Sunday, amid the jangle of the bells overhead. The mark of a witch's foot is still pointed out on the turret-stair leading to this apartment, and is reported to have been made by one of these unfortunate women. In the course of the summer of this year, we shall find the session very busy with the witches—though, as far as appears, both from their records and those of the town council, no capital convictions ensue. It is not till after the Restoration that we hear of any witches being actually put to death; and these have both sentence and execution passed upon them in Edinburgh, to which they have been removed from Culross :—

"5 *March* 1643.

"Ordenis Catherine Rowane to be brought from the tolbuth to the stiple that roume might be mead for otheris delated as guiltie of sorcerie and witchcraft."

In further reference to this subject of witches, the following passage may be quoted from Spalding's 'History of the Troubles in Scotland and England,' 1624-1645 :—

"1643.—About this time many witches are taken in Anstruther, Dysert, Culros, Sanctandrois, and sundrie uther pairtis in the cost syde of Fyf. They maid strange confessions, and war brynt to the death."

"16 *Aprylł* 1643.

"Janet Young, for swearing, cursing, and selling eall to beggers, delated to be warned against the next day."

"23 *Aprylł* 1643.

"James Chattow his goodmother and wyf delated for vaiging from the kirk at the second bell, to be warned."

"1 *October* 1643.

"William Paton and Robert Henderson accused for drinking on Saturday at night, and undertaking to drink a pynt at a drink, and to drink others to the door—denyed; bot the elders proved the samyne to be of truth, therefore ordained to make their repentance, and pay 20 sh.—payed."

It should be remembered, in connection with the above, that the "pynt" was the Scotch pint, containing more than two imperial quarts.

"John Ronald, accused for profaning the Lord's Day by carrying a burden from Kincardine to Culross, confessed his fault, promised amendment, and to pay, according to the Act, 12 sh.

It seems not a little curious that in the Culross kirk-session records of 1643 there is no reference to one of the most famous incidents of the year—the framing and subscription of THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, which was destined to occupy a more important position in history and with posterity than either the National Covenant of 1638 or the

older one subscribed by the Reformers. This world-renowned document was drawn up and presented to the General Assembly of the Church and Convention of Estates at Edinburgh, on 17th August 1643. Having received their approbation, it was forwarded to England, where it received the sanction of Parliament and the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and was finally approved at Edinburgh on 11th and 12th October. Its objects were in many respects identical with those in the National Covenant; but it took a firmer standpoint, as well as a wider range, inasmuch as it comprised the whole three kingdoms. In its own phraseology, the subscribers swear "that we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our severall places and callings, the preservation of the Reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdomes of England and Ireland, in doctrine, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God and the example of the best Reformed Churches; and shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdomes to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, Confession of Faith, form of Church government, Directory for Worship, and catechising."

The Solemn League and Covenant was ordained by the General Assembly and Convention of Estates "to be, with all religious solemnities, sworn and subscribed by all his Majesties subjects of this king-

dom: and that under the pain, to such as still postpone or refuse, to be esteemed and punished as enemies to religion, his Majesties honour, and peace of thir kingdoms; and to have their goods and rents confiscate for the use of the publick, and that they shall not bruik nor enjoy any benefite, place, nor office within this kingdome. And also ordains all sheriffs, stuarts, and others his Majesties magistrates to burgh and land, and committees in the severall shires, to be assisting to ministers and presbyteries in procuring reall obedience hereunto; and that with all diligence they make report to the Committee of Estates of the names of all such persons as shall postpone or refuse, to the effect course may be taken with them as aforesaid."

Considering all this impartially, it must be admitted that the high-handed and tyrannical measures pursued after the Restoration, when the Episcopalians had again gained the upper hand, could scarcely be regarded as altogether unaccountable and without excuse. In order that a general subscription to the document might take place, it was ordered that it should be "forthwith printed, and that the printed copies, bound with some clean sheets of paper, be sent unto the ministery; and that every minister upon the first Lord's Day after the same shall come to his hands, read and explain it, and by exhortations prepare the people to the swearing and subscribing thereof solemnly the Lord's Day next immediately following." The copy of the Solemn League and Covenant sent as above directed to Cul-

ross in common with other parishes, and subscribed by the parishioners, both in 1643 and subsequently in 1648, has been preserved. There are adhibited to it 217 genuine signatures (including those of the minister, Mr Duncan, and almost all the heritors), and 490 subscribed by Robert Forrett and James Kennewie, as notaries, on behalf of those unable to write—making a total of 707, which, after making all allowances, would certainly demonstrate the existence of a much larger population in Culross parish in those days than now prevails. I shall have occasion to notice the renewal of the Solemn League and Covenant by the Culross people in 1648, of which a full account is preserved in the session-book, though there is such a strange omission as to the first subscription in 1643.

The next entry that comes before us is the following, recording the delinquency of certain colliers, who, notwithstanding the injunctions of the Church, had been spending a jovial Christmas, and abstaining from their ordinary work:—

"7 *Jany.* 1644.

"The colyears of the Valyfield, Thomas Watchman, Thomas Penman, Alexr. Reid, Wm. Coustone, Thomas Maine, Robert Symson, and Thomas Younger, were accused for keeping of Yule Day, in feasting and drinking and abstaining from their ordinarie work; confessed their fault, and made their repentance according to the order, and payed every one of them 20 sh., and enacted with their own consent that if ever they should be found guiltie of the like herafter, to pay in penaltie ilk one of them 10 lb., and mak their repentance in publick."

"30 *March* 1644.

"Thomas Tealyer, accused for travelling on the Lord's Day with his work-lomes, confessed he came from Kincardine on Sunday last, at six in the morning, and promised never to do the lyk hirafter."

The following presents a very curious account of a prosecution against a "charmer" or "witch-man." The faith in the powers of these personages to alleviate and heal the ailments of men and beasts continued long deeply rooted, and is scarcely extinct even at the present day:—

"9 *June* 1644.

"Andro Clerk and his wyf, for seeking their daughter's helth from Adam Donaldson, which they confessed, ordined to mak thir repentance in publick."

"23 *June* 1644.

"Adam Donaldson, cited, accused for charming of kine and horse—denyed; the reporters of it—to wit, David Sandis of Birkenhead, Johne Bird, and Johne Sands—to be heard the next day."

"30 *June* 1644.

"The witnesses concerning Adam Donaldson his business, were examined; and *imprimis*, John Bird deponed that Adam Donaldson said to him he coft a cow at a tyme in Dumblane Fair, and brought hir home to his hous, but she could give no milk; and purposing to tak her back to the place where she came from, by the way he met with a woman who asked him where he was going. He answered as before. The woman said, 'Good man, ye need not be so hastie; tak hir back agane, and put a piece of rantle-tree[1]

[1] Another name for the rowan or mountain-ash, which was supposed to possess great efficacy in warding off the malevolent designs of witches. The old rhyme is—

"Rantle-tree and red thread
Puts the witches to their speed."

under her taille, and say thrice on your knees, Lord Jesus, send me milk,'—which he did accordingly, and the cow gave milk in abundance, more than ever before or since: and farther, he confessed that ever since to this tyme he had rantle-tree under his kines tell [tail].

"John Bowey deponed the samene.

"John Henderson, examined anent the premiss, deponed that he baid him, when he was to buy a cow, lead hir home himself, milk her himself, and drink the milk himself, and all the divels in hell should not have power over hir; and if he wer to buy a horse, the first south-running water he came to, light of with the horses hinder feete in the water, and tak up a handfull of sand out of the water, and three severall tymes straik the horse back from his forret to his shoulders, and then to his taile, and all evill spirits should not have power to wrong his horse in knee nor thigh."

We hear nothing more of this case. Perhaps it was handed over to the civil authorities either in the burgh or regality court. Of the former of these the records of this period have unfortunately been lost, and I have never been able to procure any information as to the proceedings of the latter.

A terrible visitant was now on his way to Culross. The year 1645 is memorable as that in which the PLAGUE made its last appearance in Scotland, and, like its congener the Great Plague of London, its ravages on the occasion of its farewell visit were more terrible than at any previous period. The kirk-session of Culross takes the alarm, and issues the following edict to prevent the importation of the malady:—

"1 *July* 1645.

"The session taking to consideration the great danger of infection of the plaige now spreading round about this parioch, have ordained that none, toune nor land, presume to receive any strangers, especially from suspect places, under the paine of present upclosing, and a pecuniall some to be exacted from them, and to have no benefit of kirk or market."

The threat of "upclosing" points to the practice, common in those days when any one was attacked by the plague, of shutting up the house where he lay, that neither persons nor things might be allowed to issue therefrom so as to spread infection. Probably also, as in the case of the Jewish leper, it was customary to imprison within his own house any one suspected of being infected, till the possibility of being so were over.

The pestilence was now close at hand, and the autumn and winter of 1645 were to be marked with mourning, lamentation, and woe. The following entry from the kirk-session book of Carnock, in the hand of its minister, the celebrated John Row, shows the state of matters in the district adjoining Culross:—

"21 *Sept.* 1645.—Also because the plague of the pestilence was spreading bothe in Dunfermlyne and Culrose, and in Torriburne, and other partes neir us, we cannot keipe our kirk door with two or three elders, that no stranger mycht cum to us, except thay wer the better knowen; and openlie dischargit strangeris to cum to us till we suld see quhat helpe the Lord wald send."

Very many died in the town of Dunfermline at this time, and also, as we are informed, in and around Culross. To prevent overcrowding in the churchyards, many persons were buried in the fields and remote places, as is still testified by the existence of *through stanes* marking their place of sepulture. One of these is still to be seen in Tulliallan Forest, and is more particularly described in the chapter on the girdlesmiths. And a wide tradition still prevails that the great blue boulder-stone in the little harbour of Culross, opposite the centre of the town, covers or lies contiguous to the place where many of the victims of the plague of 1645 were buried. Bones and fragments of coffins are still occasionally disinterred at this spot by the action of the tides, and are found there at their ebbing. From the 10th of August 1645 to the 7th of January 1646 inclusive, the session-book of Culross is wholly devoid of entries; and on a wide vacant space in the page appears in large letters an announcement which explains too well the fatal reason—

DURING THIS INTERMISSIONE
THE PLAIGE WAS HAVIE
UPON OUR TOUNE.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KIRK-SESSION RECORDS FROM 1646 TO 1650.

THE first entry of interest that appears in the session-book of Culross, after the long surcease in consequence of the prevalence of the plague, is an admonition by the ever-zealous Mr Duncan, the minister, to check the progress of "malignancie"—that is to say, of any tendency on the part of the parishioners to join the schemes of the Royalist party. Those who did so were termed "Malignants":—

"10 *March* 1646.

"The minister desyred the elders, that what they had found concerning malignancie in toune or land, they wold now mak declaratione of it and give it in, that they might be punished according to the Act red to them befor."

"20 *Aprylł* 1646.

"The names of widowes within the parioch who had their husbands killed in England to be givene to the minister against the next dayt of mietting."

"Some honest men to be thought upon against the next day for visiting the brewster-houses in landward one Sunday

before sermon, and to see that the people keepe the kirk preciesly."

"12 *May* 1646.

"Because of sundry complaints givene be the elders against people vaiging from the kirk in the afternoone, it was thought miet that searchers should be apoynted for the landward, and that especially they should try the brewster-houses that nae people resort thir."

This institution of "searchers" on Sunday for watching and arresting any persons who might be walking abroad in time of divine service, if it did not originate in the flourishing time of Presbyterian supremacy subsequent to 1638, was at least extensively developed in these days, and maintained itself as a Presbyterian speciality to a comparatively recent date. It prevailed more especially in burgh towns such as Glasgow, Dunfermline, and others, where the puritanical leaven was strong and active among the magistracy. In the former-mentioned town, down to near the end of the last century searchers used regularly to perambulate the Green, to pounce upon any regardless individual who might be so far left to himself as to indulge in a walk on the Sunday afternoon. At last they caught a Tartar. Mr Blackadder, father of Mr Blackadder of Killearn, long chairman of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Company, having been summarily arrested and "warded" in this fashion, brought an action of wrongous imprisonment against the magistrates of Glasgow, and got decree of damages against them in the Court of Session. The searchers' occupation in the city of St

Mungo was from that time gone, but it still continued to flourish for a while in other localities. In Dunfermline, for instance, it was quite common for persons to be apprehended who were found on the streets carrying water or engaged in any similar occupation; and many a "young man from the country" who had walked into town with the intention of spending the Sunday with his friends, was either ignominiously turned back, or marched off to the guard-house "with his bundle under his arm." Latterly the duties of searchers were performed by the town-officers and suchlike functionaries; but originally the office seems to have been filled by elders and members of the Church, and regarded as a most honourable and necessary one. We shall hear a good deal about the searchers and their adventures as we proceed with the session records.

"28 *July* 1646.

"George Rowane and his wyf, accused for charming a bairne, they confessed they used some words which a begger used them, they not knowing what it mynded—referred to the Presbetrie. The Presbetrie apoints the forsaids persons to mak ther repentance upon the publick place of repentance on the Lord's Day after sermon in the fornoone."

The minister of Culross is ordered off on a mission to the Scottish camp in England:—

"*November* 3, 1646.

"The whilk day the minister shew a letter to the session from the Commission of the Kirk ordiening him with all expedition to address himselfe to Newcastell to attend the Generall Leslie there, and that the Presbetrie, during his absence, wold *per vices* supply his place."

About this time the Valleyfield and Balgownie families have burial-places assigned them. Of the latter family some account has already been given, and it now seems desirable to say something of the former, which, since the times of the Reformation to the present day, has ever been an influential one in Culross parish.

The name Preston is derived from the barony of Prestoun (Priests' town), now Gourtoun, on the South Esk, Mid-Lothian. Sir John de Preston, knight, was taken prisoner with David II. at the battle of Durham, in 1346, and suffered imprisonment for a long time in the Tower of London. He obtained from David II. charters of the lands of Gourtoun or Gorton in Mid-Lothian, and also of lands in Fife and Perthshire. His son, Simon de Preston, obtained from King Robert II. a charter of the lands of Craigmillar, near Edinburgh; and though there is some question as to who his children really were, there seems no reason to doubt that he was the father of Sir George de Preston, who again was the father of John Preston of Craigmillar and Gorton. From this last the Prestons of Craigmillar were descended, as also those of Valleyfield—though the precise period at which the latter branched off is a matter of some dispute. The earliest account we have of them in connection with Valleyfield is the acquisition, in 1543, of that estate from Patrick Bruce by James Preston, son of Henry Preston, burgess of Edinburgh, and grandson of William Preston of Craigmillar. The conveyance was ratified by a

charter, in 1544, from William Colville, Commendator of Culross Abbey, in favour of the said James Preston and his wife Margaret Home.

James Preston was succeeded by his son Archibald, who obtained sasine from the Commendator and convent of Culross of the whole lands and barony of Valleyfield. And Archibald Preston was succeeded as third baron by his eldest son James, who married Jean, daughter of James Erskine of Little Sauchie, third son of Robert Erskine, fourth Earl of Mar. Their eldest son was Sir John Preston of Valleyfield, who received the honour of knighthood from James VI., with whom he was a great favourite. He married Grizel Colville, daughter of Alexander Colville the Commendator, and sister of John Colville of Comrie.

The eldest son of Sir John Preston of Valleyfield and Grizel Colville was the Sir George Preston who has a burial-place assigned him on the basement storey of Culross steeple, as recorded in the kirk-session book, and who ten years previously, in 1637, had received from Charles I. a baronetcy, which still exists, though no longer connected with the estate of Valleyfield. His brother, Robert Preston, who makes the application for him, became a Lord of Session; and his sister Mary, as previously mentioned, married the second George Bruce of Carnock, and was mother of the first and second Earls of Kincardine.

Sir George Preston married Marion, only daughter of Hugh, third Lord Semple, and was succeeded as

second baronet by his eldest son Sir William. His second son, George, was greatly distinguished as a military officer, and commanded the garrison of Edinburgh Castle during both the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. He died at an advanced age in 1748. We shall hear more of him at a subsequent stage.

On 27th April the following entry occurs regarding the seating of the church :—

"Thos who ware apoynted for sighting the kirk and finding out of places most commodious for building seats, report that they can find no place in the kirk for that use except the quiere, and that they think the Communion tables may be removed, and set alongs the body of the kirk when they have to doe with them. Referred."

In the above, as well as in a previous entry of 13th April, we find some interesting information regarding the condition of Culross Church in 1646. It is evident from the very minute delineation of the burial-space accorded to the Preston family "within the porch under the stiple, betwixt the inner doore of the kirk and the outer doore of entrie thereto," that the entrance-porch to the church on the basement floor of the steeple was the same as at the present day, and that the nave, which originally extended westwards as far as the churchyard gate, had by that time been reduced to the condition of an external roofless ruin. We also find that, though the whole of the present place of worship formed anciently the choir of the Monastery Church, the term "quiere," or choir, was restricted

in after-times to the portion extending between the transept at the pulpit and the east wall of the church—corresponding, indeed, in situation to what is generally known as the chancel. The Communion table was formerly placed there; and we learn also, from another source, that there was a partition or screen between the so-called choir and the rest of the church. The little chapel or aisle on the north side of the choir, now in ruins, but exhibiting still in the fragment of a window a beautiful specimen of ancient architecture, was then known as the Little or Old Aisle, to distinguish it from the New Aisle recently erected by George Bruce. The old burial-place of the Preston family in the porch has long been disused, in consequence of their descendants, Sir Robert Preston and Lady Baird, having built other mausolea for themselves; but the vault of the Cunninghams of Balgownie, though a modern structure, adjoins the Little Aisle.

The seating of churches with pews and galleries—or as the latter were commonly termed, "lafts"—came into general vogue about the middle of the seventeenth century. Previous to that time the congregation either stood entirely throughout the service, or used seats which they themselves or their servants had brought with them to church. Jenny Geddes turned the stool which she had brought with her to a peculiar use by hurling it at the head of the Dean of Edinburgh. When the movement for fitting up churches with pews commenced, there was no uniform method or model followed. Each heritor or

other applicant, on having a space assigned him by the kirk-session, fitted up his pew or gallery at his own expense, and in the fashion that pleased himself best. As might have been expected, the result was that singular congeries that was frequently to be observed in our old churches, of all shapes and sizes, in the way of square pews, oblong pews, and galleries, rising above each other like the boxes of a theatre. Previous to its rearrangement in 1824, Culross Church has been described to me as "an awfu'like kirk," with its queer pews and galleries; and I understand the same might have been said of the Abbey Church of Dunfermline, when the nave, now a promenade, was used as a place of worship. Even after it had come to be recognised as an indispensable duty on the part of the heritors to seat as well as build the church, it was quite common to leave the floor in its primitive condition as a part of mother earth, without either planking or flags.

Mr Duncan goes on with unabated zeal in carrying out the exercise of Presbyterian polity and discipline in Culross. He announces the commencement of the practice of diets of examination, a custom which was long continued in Scotland. At certain times all belonging to the parish, whether young or old, were expected to present themselves before the minister and elders, and, as it was expressed, "say their questions"—that is, repeat the answers to the questions in the Larger and Shorter Catechisms—as also, to be "targed" generally in matters of faith and practice. As might have been expected, no little per-

turbation was felt on these occasions by those who were conscious of having neglected their religious studies, and thus laid themselves open to public rebuke and exposure :—

"18 *May* 1647.

"The minister shew that, now he had been through the whole parioche, and had taken upe all ther names, and purposed, God willing, to beginne to examine on Monday next, the 27 of this instant, and desyred earnestly that the elders wold have a care to keepe the dyets precisely themselves, and be carfull that ther quarters have a care to meet, as they shall be advertised—which they all promised."

Strict regulations are issued for the sanctification of the Sabbath :—

"6 *June.*

"According to the good order authorised be the Kirk, and practised now by the most part of burghs in this kingdome, it is ordiened that mercats on Saturday shall be holden on Fryday, and those satling on Monday and Tuesday, because of severall abuses falling out by fleshers and other tredsmen who resort to mercats on thos days.

"The whilk day ane act of Assemblie for sanctification of the Saboth was publicly intimat and ordiened to be registrat."

"11 *July* 1647.

"The dyet of the Communion to be and beginne this day fourtnight, the 20 of this inst., and the minister earnestly desyred that all persons at variance should be reconciled be the elders, and thos who stood out to be delated and brought in before the session—which they undertok."

Both Mr Duncan, the minister of Culross, and the Presbytery of Dunfermline, had long been urging

on the kirk-session the desirability of having a helper or "collige minister" appointed without further delay. Mr Donaldson, the celebrated minister of Dalgety, who figures so prominently both in the sunshine and gloom of Presbyterian history, seems to be doing his share of duty at Culross in Mr Duncan's absence at the camp, and takes occasion to stir up the procrastinating session :—

"16 *Septr.* 1647.

"By Master Andro Donaldsone, minister of Dalgety, who keept session here that day, and did earnestly recommend to the session the satling of a collige minister hier, and shew that the Presbetrie was a little discontent, they receaved not ane answeare in wreat to their Act; whereupon the session desyred Mr James, their clerk, to wreat ane answere agane the next day."

"21 *December* 1647.

"The minister desyred the elders to tak notice of the people on Yuile Day that they goe about ther ordinarie callings; and if any be found superstitiously set for the keeping of that day, to delat them accordingly."

"24 *December* 1647.

"Thomas Anderson cited, accused for drawing brothe to his panne on the Lord's Day, confessed that he drew some three or four bucket-full in the morning; ordiened to satisfie according to the Act."

The "brothe" above mentioned was the salt water contained in the reservoir known as the "bucket-pat," a structure of stonework erected on the sea-shore for the supply of the salt-pans. The remains of these bucket-pats, like projecting promontories,

are to be seen along the whole coast of the Firth of Forth; and, as far as I am aware, the term is confined to this locality—at least it is not to be found in Dr Jamieson's Dictionary. Originally it would appear that the water was simply conveyed in buckets from the "pat" to the "pan," but latterly pumping machinery was employed. Scarcely any salt is now manufactured from sea-water, and what was formerly a large and important branch of industry has become almost quite extinct.

The next entry, of the same date as the foregoing one, shows not only the extreme watchfulness now exercised under the supremacy of Presbytery in maintaining the strict observance of the Sabbath, but also in enforcing on the community a knowledge of the principles on which such watchfulness was founded. Whether the severities here and elsewhere threatened were ever in any instance carried into actual execution, we have no evidence from the session records of Culross. Fines, exposure in church, and interdiction of church privileges, were certainly frequently inflicted; but one is almost inclined to believe that corporal punishment, except in such cases where it would have been justly due for civil delinquencies, was merely decreed *ad terrorem*.

"George Anderson cited, accused of prophanation of the Sabboth by running up and doune the toune in tyme of divine service—confessed, and promised never to doe the lyk hireafter; bot because of his ignorance, not knowing what commandment he had broken, was enacted that if he should not get the commandments betwixt and that day

twentie dayes, he should be brought bak and scurged publicly."

"7 *Januar* 1648.

"Margrit Stirk cited, of nights drinking with sojours —denyed. Proven by hir nighbours. She is ordiened to stand at the cross on the marquet-day betwixt ten and twelve hours, with a paper hat on hir head, and hir filthie falt written theron, and therafter to be scurged by the hangman."

"22 *Apryll* 1648.

"The whilk day the minister shew the session that it was apoynted by the Generall Assemblie, and that now it had come to this Presbetrie, that the litle books of warning and helping people to the duetie of familie exercise war ordiened to be giuen through honest families of the toune; and therfor apoynted Mr James Meldrum to distribut the same, and receave a count from the elders, and to report his diligence therin."

Much trouble seems to have been occasioned to the session at this time by the "sojours" and those who kept company with them. Bessie Mackie and Elspit Robson are summoned for irregularities of this kind, and "enacted with their own consent that if it shall be proven by the witnesses that ather of them was in company night or day with the sojours, in that caice they are content to sit at the cross on the marquet-day, with a paper hat on their heads and the branks in their mouth, and therafter stand bearfooted at the kirk doore betwixt the second and third bell, and therafter mak thir repentance in publick befor the congregation."

The offences alleged against Bessie Mackie and

Elspit Robeson are this day proved by witnesses, and they are "referred to the baillies, to be punished by them exemplarly, and to stand at the kirk door barefooted betwixt the first and second bell, and therafter to mak their repentance in publick."

The son apparently of one of the above-named ladies allows his filial piety to overstep the respect due to the ordinance of the session :—

"8 *June* 1648.

"Robert Robeson, for his great miscarriage in taking his mother from the kirk doore betwixt bells, when she was appointed by the kirk so to satisfie, referred to the baillies, to be led fast by them in stocks till he find caution to satisfie, according as he shall be enjoyned."

"10 *Septr.* 1648.

"John Aitken's wyfe accused for knocking beare in time of sermon, confessed hir fault, and promised never to doe the lyk hirafter."

"Knocking beare" denotes the act of decorticating barley or "bear" by striking it in a stone mortar with a wooden mallet. Before men had learned the art of removing the husk from barley by machinery, it was customary to prepare it for the broth-pot by beating it in the manner just mentioned, and the utensil in which the process was performed was called a "knocking stone," and was an indispensable adjunct to every household. It has now become totally obsolete, and its very meaning forgotten, though I myself have heard the old servant of a relative thus address the dog when obstructing her

way: "Get up, Cassie—sittin' there on your tail, like a knockin' stane!" She could not herself explain the meaning of the phrase, having heard it used by some old-world person.

"1 *Octr.* 1648.

"The minister earnestly desyred that the elders wold have a special caire, that they within thir quarters should keep the kirk on Saboth-day more carefully than they doe, which they promised.

"That they who had miscarried with this deboshed crewe from Stirling, should be delated against the next day, and censured accordingly."

"This deboshed crewe from Stirling" were doubtless connected with the Royalist army, which in the preceding summer had marched into England under the command of the Duke of Hamilton, and been defeated by Cromwell at Preston. There was a division in the Presbyterian councils as to the support which they ought to accord Charles I. against Cromwell and the Independents, and a secret treaty had been concluded in the Isle of Wight with Charles I., by which the Scottish commissioners agreed under certain conditions to promote the reinstatement of the King on his throne. This compact was, however, disapproved of and disavowed by the more zealous Presbyterians, including the Marquis of Argyll; and where these were predominant, as seems to have been the case in Culross, all supporters of the "Engagement" were denounced as malignants, and subjected to strict surveillance. The soldiers belonging to this party had evidently been promoting

immorality and disorder in the towns; and they had also, as we shall see, been harassing by their exactions the landward district of the parish of Culross.

"15 *October* 1648.

"Thos of toune and land to give in the losses they had by thes malignants from Stirling against the next day, and to be presented to the Committee of Estates."

"31 *October* 1648.

"John Mastertoune of East Grange chosen to goe over to Edinburge to present grievances of the landward, and losses sustained by them by thos malignants from Stirling."

The Solemn League and Covenant, already sworn to in 1643 by 707 parishioners of Culross, is again subscribed with great solemnity by 495 persons, among which we notice the name of the newly created Earl of Kincardine, who on the previous occasion had signed as Edward Bruce. A public confession is also made by the favourers of the "Engagement."

"20 *Decr.* 1648.

"The whilk day, befor the congregation, the heritors, counsellors, and others who had hand or did any way contribut to the outputting of sojours in the leat unlawful engagement, did publicly befor the congregation mak ther confession by standing up in their seats.

"Therafter the Act being red debarring and discharging all who had correspondence with the enemie, and war vnder the conduct of Lenrick and George Monroe, from the renewing of the Covenant."

These were the notable leaders in the recent

attempt to reinstate Charles I. The Earl of Lanrick or Lanark was brother of the Duke of Hamilton, now in prison as taken captive at the battle of Preston, and destined ere three months were over to lose his head in Palace Yard, Westminster.

The renewal of the Covenant is finally recorded thus in large letters :—

"THE PEOPLE, IN PRESENCE OF THE DREADFUL GOD, STANDING ON THER FEETE, DID SOLEMNLY RENEWE THE COVENANT, WITH THER HANDS LIFTED UP TO THE MOST HIGH."

"27 *December* 1648.

"Thos who came not to sweare and subscryve the Covenant, to be taken notice of by the elders, and delated."

Here we have a session case regarding four over-"merry masons" :—

"John Messon, John Millar, James and Allr. Mackie, messons, accused severally of ther prophanation of the Lord's Day by going to Torriburne befor sermon in the morning, ther binding a prentise, and entering John Millar fellow to the craft, and returning in tyme of afternoon sermon, and then going to the taverne, did all confess ther falt sincerely. They removed; the session finding ther falt very gross, and that the lyk had not been hard of ther befor, did recommend the same to the Presbetrie."

"This day the Erle of Kincardin, Sr. Jo. Erskyn, and Balbougy, with ther servant, after ther confession befor the congregation, did sweare the Covenant, and thirafter subscryve the samen."

The Earl of Kincardine seems to have done pen-

ance for his connection with the parties to the "Engagement." He had received his patent of earl from Charles I. at Carisbrook Castle in 1647, and it was probably as one of the Scotch commissioners who concluded that secret treaty that the King invested him with the dignity.

Christane Paton, who had been convicted of using slanderous language towards Janet Peacock, is "ordeined to stand on the col hill, wher the offence was given, in the joogs, with the branks in her mouth, for example to others, and the Sunday after to mak her repentance in publick."

"7 *January* 1649.

"This day John Messon, John Millar, Allr. Mackie, and James Bowey, did publicly confess ther prophanation of the Lord's Day befor the congregation, and John Messon suspended from his eldership for a tyme, as was advysed by Presbetrie."

Jan. 14, 1649.—The following entry in regard to the arrangements for appointing a second minister, shows that the Earl of Kincardine had then a house in Culross, doubtless what was afterwards known as "the Colonel's Close" in the Sand Haven :—

"The voicers to meet at my Lord Kincardin's hous tomorrow, and therafter to report ther diligence."

The harbouring of strangers and beggars seems to have been a great cause of offence in those days. Great annoyance was doubtless occasioned to respectable people in having the country overrun with gangs of sturdy beggars, or, as they were

sometimes styled, "thiggars and sorners." There would also be a reasonable apprehension of the plague and other epidemics being disseminated by their means.

"26 *Jany.* 1649.

"John Prymros, in Sands, cited, accused for receaving strangers and beggers within his bounds; confessed ther war some two nights in his bounds in ane old wast house by[1] his knowledge; and being sharply reproved for his oversight, is ordiened to remove them to-morrow, vnder the paine of the highest censur the session shall think miet to inflict."

"John Rowane, in Cumry, cited, accused of the lyk, confessed, ordiened to remove them; and because sundry tymes befor reproved for the said falt, enacted that if hirafter he be fund to lodge or reset within his bounds any such strangers or vagabounds, in that caise to satisfie according to the Act publickly intimat."

One would be inclined to suspect that the Scottish country people of those days had the same sympathy with beggars and "gangrel bodies" that the peasantry of Southern Europe in our own day have with brigands. It must be admitted, indeed, that fraternising with nothing worse than mendicants shows at least a stage of advancement beyond that of association with banditti.

"13 *March* 1649.

"Ordienes that a seat be build befor James Blaw's seat for the midwyfs, and that they discharge the goodwyfe of Grange of her seat."

[1] Without.

There must surely have been a good many *sages-femmes* in Culross in those days.

"18 *March* 1649.

"This day Mr John Edmestone, James Kenowey, with James Hutton and Archibald Tealyr, who war sojours in the unlawful engagment, having satisfied befor the congregation, as the rest of that number, did renewe the Covenant and subscryve the same."

The renewal of the Covenant seems to have been imposed in 1648 in consequence of the secret engagement with Charles I., and the Scottish expedition under the Duke of Hamilton into England, having raised a suspicion in the minds of the more zealous Presbyterians of a defection in the ranks of their followers. As an impartial reviewer of the events of the time, I must say that this enforcement of a test was closely akin to some of the high-handed measures of the Restoration which have been so much and justly reprobated.

"Thomas Fynlay, smith, Robert Heweson, James Sinclar, and Tho. Coalyr, war cited, and accused for ther negligence in bringing up their children, in suffering them to vaige throu the toune in tyme of sermon, and not having a care to bring them to the kirk, and to tak account of them, and to tak account of them what they hier declared, that they ware wicked over lads, and promised to correct them for this tyme, and to have a care of them hirafter, which they ware earnestly exhorted to."

The old-fashioned Presbyterian Sabbath must have been extremely irksome to children when the directions of the kirk-session as to their discipline on

that day were rigorously carried out. They were to be strictly confined within-doors, except when walking to or from church; had to listen attentively during the long, and what must have appeared to them dreary and interminable services, and had to give an account of what they had heard, under severe penalties. They must often have longed for the return of Monday, to get back to the greater freedom of ordinary school work and lessons.

Penny-weddings, with their attendant revelries, were the frequent subject of ecclesiastical denunciation :—

"22 *April* 1649.

"It was also thought miet, because of the great abuse at pennie brydols of gathering in numbers of people, especially work-people, from their masters' service, that therfor the persons to be maryed should consigne befor the session £20. If they keept within bounds limit by Act publicly intimat, in that caice to receave ther £20 bak; if not, to be employed and disponed upon by the session *ad pios usus*."

The belief in the efficacy of holy wells, as already observed, was extremely difficult to eradicate :—

"6 *May* 1649.

"This day the Act against thos who resort to superstitious wells was publicly intimat, and ordiened to be registrat as followeth: The Presbetrie hearing that ther are sume resorting to superstitious wells for obteining helth to sick and distracted persons, as also that ther are some that sends them and gives advices to goe that way, for preventing wherof in all tyme coming the Presbetrie ordiened that whosoever shall be found guiltie of the premiss, that they mak ther public repentance in sackcloth befor the con-

gregation, and ordained this Act to be intimat in all the kirks of the Presbetrie: *sic subscribitur*,

"Mr Herie Smith,
Clerk to the Presbetrie."

Marriage-feasts seem to have frequently, in those days, been held in taverns; and the landlords, in consequence, came occasionally in collision with the ecclesiastical authorities. Here we find a Gaius engaging himself that there shall be no transgression of the session Act:—

"Robert Sands does oblige himself for the pairties to be maryed on Tuesday, whose brydol dinner is to be in his hous, vnder the paine of £20, that they shall not transgress the Act publicly intimat."

"Intimation to be mead the next day of ane collection for John Horne, whose hous was latly burnt within this burge."

"13 *May* 1649.

"Delated by the searchers, Bessie Grame, pulling lieks in hir yaird in tyme of divine service, to be warned against the next day."

It would be interesting to know what punishment was inflicted on Bessie for such flagrant wickedness, but nothing further is recorded of the case. The next entry marks an important epoch in the parochial history:—

"The 30 of June 1649, the brethren of the Presbetrie had their meeting hier (Mr Robert Cay, minister of Dunfermling, preached) for the admission of Mr Robert Edmestone, collige minister. J. Meldrum,
"*Clerk to the Session.*"

The above may be regarded as the termination of the long course of procedure which had lasted over nearly twenty years in connection with the appointment of a helper or second minister. From this date the church of Culross is to be ranked as a collegiate charge, and mention is now regularly made in the session records of the "ministers." It should be understood, that though in the original constitution of the second charge the holder of it seems to have been regarded in the light of an assistant to the incumbent in the first, there was no difference between them in point of ecclesiastical rank or precedence. Indeed, in the final arrangement which was made shortly afterwards by the heritors regarding the allocation of their stipends, it was endeavoured, as far as possible, to equalise these in every respect; and this is still the case with the emoluments of the two charges. Both are very small—amounting, respectively, to barely £200 a-year; while the total amount thus divided between two incumbents would afford nothing more than a reasonable provision for one. Whatever may have been the desirability in bygone days of having a double charge in Culross, it can certainly only now be regarded as one of those preposterous anomalies, like the two members for Old Sarum, which have been allowed, in the history of the world, to exist long after they had been condemned by expediency and common-sense.

"7 *October* 1649.

"It is apoynted that thos who search the fornoon this Saboth, shall search in the afternoon the next day, and so forth.

"Thos who collect in the fornoon are apoynted to have a care to tak notice of the parlyhill when the kirk skaills, that people stand not about their own busines and worldly discourse, but remove to ther houses."

"14 *October* 1649.

"The minister did regrat the negligence of the magistrats within the toune in suffering so many vagabond beggers to come within the toune. They ondertok that some course should be taken the first counsel day."

"24 *October* 1649.

"Bessie Mackie, a vile, wicked, godless limmer, to be banished the congregation: recommended to the bailies."

"Three dollars to be given to William Mubry for putting his young motherless bairns to a milk-woman."

The kirk-session recognises no privilege or immunity even on the part of the fair sex to impugn or treat its authority with disrespect:—

"18 *Novr.* 1649.

"Elspit Schioch, for railing on the searchers, cited and most sharply rebuked, apoynted to stand in joogs, with the branks in hir mouth, and therafter to mak publick repentance."

"25 *Novr.* 1649.

"This day Elspit Schioch, having sitten in branks, as was apoynted, for railing on the elders, saying they wer too busie in things concerned them not, did mak public satisfaction befor the congregation."

"4 *Decr.* 1649.

"This day James Dobbie, John Blaylock, Robert Ronald, and Jonet Sands, did mak public satisfaction for drinking of James Dobbie's wyf's dregie, and he himself sharply rebuked in publick for his miscarriage at such a tyme,

who should have been humbled for that visitation in his familie."

Of all the cases recorded in the kirk-session books of Culross, there is none that is more elaborately detailed, or seems to have occasioned a greater sensation among the members, than the following one now to be transcribed. It partakes, in no small degree, of the ludicrous, and illustrates pretty vividly the social and convivial customs of the time, which, to say the least, must have been of rather a rough order. Little did the reverend conclave imagine, when their clerk minuted these and similar proceedings, that such careful details and fervid denunciations might, as read by the garish light of after-days, serve only to gratify the curiosity, and possibly excite the laughter, of an irreverent and degenerate posterity.

"24 *Aprill* 1650.

"The minister shew to the session the prophane, lous, and unchristiane carriages of some young men at the brydel in Thomas Ezat's house, drinking the whole night, and themselves so drunk that they spewed it againe, and that they drank King Charles' helth in a beare glass and chopin bicker, and in within the lume, with suit amongst the drink, and pieces of tolbacco-pyps and broken candel in their drink, and thus they drank till they behoued all be washen over hands and feat, and that they sat doune on the flore *in circulo*, when they drank a chopin bicker full every on of them of wine, and wer all knighted after the order of the garter by that prophane man James Broune: To try against the next day what wer mor amongst them, and who they war; and all to be drawen up in wreat, and they particularly accused of it."

"30 *Apryll* 1650.

"It is requyred that what they had learned further concerning the prophane and wicked carriage of yon young men in Thomas Eizat's hous, the elders declared that all wes red the last day of ther miscarriage wes true, and, moreover, that they had the fidler with them, and were singing and dancing every night till three or four houres in the morning, and that James Broune *wave all his sockheads* [?], and gave them favours after they were knighted be James Anderson, and that he vented much obscene filthie language to his wyf publicly when shee entered the roume as . . . and such as now ar ashamed to utter. The young men, Mr James Broune, James Anderson, John Robertson, Wm. Hallyday, Andro Anderson, in Dunfermling; John Robertson, souldier onder Pitfirrin and Captain Murray; Thos. of o^{r} toune,—cited and most sharply rebuked. Removed all; only James Anderson is kept still, and enquyred that he wold declare the truth. He promised he should not lie in any thing wes asked thereinent. First, he declared that about eight o'clock the first night ther deboshrie about eight o'clock, and continued till twelve at night, and that the Dunfermling men began the deboshrie and the great healths, and that they all sang and drank extraordinarily, and that they drank King Charles' helth in a board glass, and many ordinarie cups out; and that they entered the second day at fyve hours, when Andro Anderson came up with a quart of wine and a bicker; then they went in to the chimney, and drank a helth every one of them within the chimney; and further, he confessed that ther wes wicked, prophane, louse, unchristiane carriage amongst them, and that he wes grieved to think on it. The extract of thir particulars to be send to the Presbetrie and our ministers, to shew it to S^{r} James Halkit his sojours miscarriage.

A curious case in reference to consulting a reputed wizard is also commenced of these dates :—

"24 *April* 1650.

"Delated Robert Cusing in Kincardine, who went to the man of Kilbuck-Drummond for ane John Aitkine in Torriburne, for seeking helth to his wyf, whom he allaidged wes witched."

"30 *April* 1650.

"Robert Cousing cited, accused of his goeing to the man of Kilbuck, for seeking helth to John Erskin's wyf in Torriburn—denyed altogether that ever he wes employed in such a busines. The ministers to acquaint Mr James Sibbald therwith, that befor his session it may be tryed, and that they report to them accordingly. Robert Cousing, reproved sharply, is removed, and the busines referred til further tryall."

"7 *May* 1650.

"It is apoynted the week dayes sermon begine at eight hours in the morning."

The matters of the wedding revelry and the expedition to the "man of Kilbuck" are again taken up. In reference to the latter, the following extract is inserted in the Culross minutes from those of the kirk-session of Torryburn:—

"From the Session of Torie the 27 of *Apryll* 1650.

"The whilk day John Aitkene being convened befor the session and examined for his alleged consulting with witches anent his wyfe's sicknes, he confessed as followes—that he, hearing a common report that James Young being sick wes healed again by the help of Robert Cousin in Kincardine, went and asked James Young his wyf concerning this; that she bad him goe to Kincardine to Robt. Cousing and hir daughter; that he went to them, and that the said Robert's wyff said to him that her goodman brought to

him from the wyff's son of Kilbuck a yellow gowen,[1] which healled hir father; and that the said Robert Cousing agreit with him to go to the said wyff of Kilbuck her sonne, to get helth to his wyff; that he gave his wyff's much with him, and that he returned with this answeare, that his wyff had gotten wrong by thos whom he suspected; that shee wold be dead befor he went home; that her pictur wes brunt;[2] that he brought with him three pieces of rantries,[3] and baid him lay thes onder his door threshold, and keep on of them upon himself with seven pickles of whyt, because seven wes set for his lyf; that he brought with him ane orange-coloured saw,[4] whilk he did keep with himself, because his wyff was dead before he came with it.

"To advys with the Presbetrie anent this wicked fellow Cousing."

"14 *May* 1650.

"This day John Aitken, in presence of Robert Cousing, did affirm that he, hearing report of him that James Young wes healled by a yellow gowan which he brought to him from the wyff of Kilbuk, and that he tok James Young's

[1] Probably this was the *lucken gowan* (*i.e.*, the *closed* or *locked* gowan) or globe-flower, a beautiful plant of rare occurrence, found in shady mountainous places, and occasionally cultivated. It used to be in great repute with the country people as a charm. It is referred to in Hogg's well-known song "When the kye come hame":—

"When the bluart bears a pearl,
And the daisy turns a pea,
And the bonnie lucken gowan
Has faulded up his ee,
Then the laverock frae the blue lift
Draps down, and thinks nae shame
To woo his bonnie lassie
When the kye come hame."

[2] An allusion evidently here to one of the means supposed to be employed by witches in carrying out their malevolent designs—by exposing a waxen image of their victim to a slow fire, and thus causing in him by their incantations a similar wasting and decay.

[3] Same as rantle-tree, for an explanation of which see p. 208.

[4] Salve or ointment.

wyff's much with him; that he came to James Young's hous, and told him his errand. James Young answeared that about bearsyd tyme bygone four years Robert Cousing brought hom a yellow gowan ten myles beyond Dumblane, from Drummond the wyff's son of Kilbuk, and caused him goe to a south-running water and put in his neck and wash himself three times all over in the water, and goe three tymes withersones[1] about, and say, All the evel that is on him bee on the gowen. John Aitkin offered him a firlot of corne and twentie schillings of silver, which he was content with; and that he went away on Saturday in the morning, and returned on Sunday and brought him the rantrees, the pickles of whyt, and the orange-coloured saw, and bad him keep a piece of the rantree on him, and put a piece onder his door threshold, for they wer set for his lyf also; and the man told him his wyff wold be dead or he cam home again, bot if shee wer alive to put that saw on hir bak forgainst hir heart, and it wold tak the heat out of it. James Maine declared the samen. At length the said Robert Cousing confessed all the premiss *verbatim* as is wreatten. Removed; he is apoynted to mak his repentance in sackcloth, according to the ordinance of the Presbetrie."

"3 *June* 1650.

"The searchers declared all wes quiet, except that in Kincardin James Paterson's pan not drawen.

"James Bruce, buxter, playing in the laft and straiking Tho. Thomson.

"The persons who wer scandalous in Thomas Eizat's house, to mak their repentance publickly, and to sit two dayes, and to be receaved the second, but with this provi-

[1] Also written *withershins* or *widdershins*, in a contrary direction to the sun—German *wieder* and *sonne*. In the ballad of "Sir Patrick Spens" we find—

"And then the bonny ship
Gaed *widdershins* about."

sion, that the sense of ther guiltines be manifested befor the same ther receaving.

"The minister desyred that particular notice be taken of people not coming to kirk, especially in Kincardine."

"10 *June* 1650.

"The whilk day Robert Cousin, for his horrid falt read, receaved befor the congregation, having sitten the wholl tyme of service in sackcloth."

"27 *June* 1650.

"Elspet Mather, for cursing and banning the divel tak hir, and the divel ryve her, cited, and because not sensible of this falt, recommended to John Calendar to be put in joogs and branks publicly on the coal-hill, which he ondertok."

"9 *July* 1650.

"John Peacock, for absenting himself on the Lord's Day from publick worship, sitting in his owne hous the whole tym, cited, and confessed upon his knees befor the session, and enacted if ever he be found in the lyk hirafter, to mak public satisfaction."

"16 *July* 1650.

"David Rind, for cursing and banning the divel tak him once or twyce, did ingenuously confess his falt, and becaus it is knowen he used not the lyk and it is the first tyme, he did confess his falt befor the session, and promised, with the Lord's grace, he should never fall in the lyke again."

"3 *July* 1650.

"The whilk day the minister asked the session of the caryage of people within thir particular bounds, and what conscience they mead of familie dueties, and how they keept the kirk; the elders declared that ther caryage wes Chriastine-lyke, and that they all, so farr as they could learne, had

familie exercise, and did keep the kirk preciesly on the Lord's Day, and on week dayes as they could have libertie in respect of busines: exhorted earnestly to tak more and more notice of them, and to exhort them to duetie, and if any feall, to delat them, which they promised."

"5 *Agust* 1650.

"This day Elspet Mather, being by jougs and stocks punished, and now sincerely sensible, is receaved befor the congregation for hir cursing by the divel three severall tymes, wishing he may tak hir away, and confessed the same in publick very sincearly."

"12 *Agust* 1650.

"The whilk day the elders declared all was quiet, only that they fand some sojours on the way, and that they exhort them to goe to the kirk, which they did; and also shew them that if they keept not better the kirk while they wer hier, that it wold be complained of to their commanders."

Sunday observance must certainly have been very strict in these days when even, on a fine evening in the month of August, after the long services of the day, it was considered an infringement of its sanctity to take a "daunder" on the Sand Haven of Culross:—

"20 *Agust* 1650.

"The whilk day the searchers declared all wes quiet, bot after sermons the strangers wer vaiging on the sand haven, and not keeping ther houses; therfor, for redress therof, it is apoynted that the searchers goe through and visit ther particular bounds on the Lord's Day, and to rebuk thes sharply, or o^r^ our people whom they find on the streits.

"To mak publick intimation the next Lord's Day to the people that they tak more care of the young ones on the

Lord's Day, or els they are to be charged for them, according to the Act.

"John Archibald, elder, exhorted in the name of Chryst to mak more conscience of visiting the saltpans within his bounds, and of delating them particularly who do not put furth ther fyre on Saturdayes night, according to the Act, and as they are particularly enacted.

"Marion Rippet of Borroustounes, accused for hir rash speaking towards the magistrats for searching for meall to be employed in the publick service, denyed that shee spak anything bot 'God forgive you, sirs! ye have taken twentie bolls of mell from me. God knowes when I will get payment.' Exhorted to walk more circumspectly in tymes coming, which she promised, by God's grace."

The requisitions for meal above mentioned were doubtless in consequence of the invasion of Scotland by Cromwell, and the necessity of collecting stores for the maintenance of the opposing Scottish army. About ten days before the date last mentioned, Charles II., then lately arrived in Scotland, had visited Dunfermline, and subscribed there the declaration binding himself to adhere to the Solemn League and Covenant. Possibly the King may even have passed through Culross on his way to or from Dunfermline. On the 3d of September in this year the Scottish army was routed by Cromwell at Dunbar. We find the Culross session on this day peacefully engaged in giving orders for the repair of the West Kirkyard dykes, and calling to account Lord Bargeny's "kitching boyes" for Sunday desecration.[1]

CHAPTER IX.

THE KIRK-SESSION RECORDS FROM 1650 TO 1657.

AT no period are the Culross kirk-session records more interesting or illustrative of the social manners of the time than at present. Presbytery and Presbyterian discipline are in their zenith—at least Cromwell and his Independents have scarcely begun to make their domination felt—and Mr Duncan, the minister, is most zealous in enforcing on his elders the propriety of increased strictness and vigilance in the exercise of their offices. All kinds of domestic delinquencies are ferreted out and adjudicated on. Drunken husbands and nagging wives are alike censured, venters of strange oaths and abusers of dignitaries are called to account and forced to do penance before the congregation, and profaners of the Sabbath and neglecters of ordinances are warned and rebuked. The parochial authorities must have held the reins very tight indeed, and there need be little wonder at the laxity of the Restoration being welcomed by many as a relief from the strict surveillance of bygone years. In many respects, certainly,

the Presbyterian whips of ecclesiastical fine and penance fell far lighter than the Prelatic scorpions in the shape of military lawlessness and cruelty, ruinous fines and exactions, and denial of the liberty of religious worship. But still, considering the matter impartially, it cannot be denied that something like a mild inquisition, without its arbitrary severities and nefarious ends, was at the time established in every parish of Scotland.

"12 *October* 1650.

"The whilk day the minister desyred that elders should tak particular of peoples' cariage within thir bounds, and what conscience is med of familie exercise—and thos who fell, to be delated; those who in conscience hir about the same, to be encouraged to so necessarie and excellent ane dewtie."

From the following it would appear that some Culross men had taken part in the battle of Dunbar:—

"The names of sojours hurt at Dunbar to be brought in the next day, and something to be given them according to ther severall conditions, till they mend."

"2 *November* 1650.

"The whilk day Besse Cowey cited, accused of hir viele and synful blasphemous language against honest and good people of the othersyd, and chiefly against ministers. The whole particularly red: shee denyed all. The witnesses, Archibald Buccolme and Hellen Drysdel, spous to John Hutton in Borroustounnes, cited. Besse Cowey wes asked if shee had anything to say against thes persons why they might not be admitted as witnesses, declared she had no-

thing to say against them. The witnesses sworne to declare the truth.

"Archibald Buccolme deponed that, on Tuesday the 3 of this instant, Besse Cowey came in to his hous, and being sitting with a woman of the other syd of the water, Besse Cowey told them she had been fighting with a woman of the other syd of the water for her owne wrace; and swearing so fearfully by God Himself and by His wounds, the said Archibald reproved hir. She railled on him, calling him hypocrit; and the woman reproving hir, shee fell out against hir, and railled on hir and the people on the other syd, calling them a pack of hypocrits and puritans and suchlyk, and that we had gotten a swinger set up in the pulpit now to raill on the people, and a glyed taverne queen his wyf, and that she houped in God to see all the ministers driven yet as sheep to the slaughter, and clapping hir hands, so begid, 'If every one wold doe as I wold, we should draiv the ministers out of the pulpit;' and all this discourse was intermixed with fearful and terrible oathes, as so is.

"Bessie Cowey callit, and apoynted to be at the Presbetrie to-morrow."

The "swinger set up in the pulpit," so vigorously abused by Mrs Bessie Cowey, is doubtless Mr John Duncan, the incumbent of the first charge, who seems to have enjoyed *par excellence* the title of "the minister." He certainly shows himself a most vigilant inquisitor and enforcer of discipline, and may be regarded as an extreme type of Presbyterian rigour. Here he is again prodding on the elders to increased activity:—

"10 *Novr.* 1650.

"The whilk day the searchers declared all wes quiet. The minister yet desyrs that elders wold be diligent in

searching ther severall bounds on the Lord's Day, and tak particular notice of the behaviour of people, and to visit eall-houses, that non either our owne people nor strangers be sitting mispending the Saboth ther, and provoking God to anger in thir sad tymes; and if any be fund so prophane resorting to eall-houses or taverns in thir tymes, when God's hand is so havie on the land, that they be delated and censured accordingly—which they all promised: and the ministers themselves to goe doune and tak a viewe of the toune after sermons."

"John Burnsyd reported that Besse Lyall wes over the water with Cromwel's men, and was seen ryding behind on of them from Borrowstounness to Lithgow, and stayed with them all night in the garison, and returning, caused the man behind whom she was ryding, to light from his hors, and rob and spoyle a poore carray man, and tak butter and other goods he had from him.

"Besse Lyall to be warned against the next day."

"19 *November* 1650.

"Besse Lyall cited, accused of hir cariage over the water with Cromwel's men, and travelling with them from Borrowstounnes to Lithgow, and staying with them in the garyson —denyed all the particulars, except that she went over to crave some debt war aughten hir on the other syd: removed. Referred to John Hallyday, baillie, and John Burnsyd, to try the bootmen, and to report the next day—which he promised."

"Margt. Mitchel cited, accused for prophanation of the Lord's Day, carying a burden from Easter to Wester Kincardin: confessed that shee wes carying some clothes to ane woman shee had waschen the night befor. Recommended to the elders of Kincardin, to be put in jougs by them."

"James Cowey delated for his drunknes on Fryday last with troupers, so drunk that he could not walk."

"3 *December* 1650.

"The searchers declared all wes quiet thir two Lord's Dayes by passed, and that they went through ther particular bounds, and found nothing but quietnes.

"John Hallyday and John Burnsyd asked what they had learned concerning Besse Lyall's cariage on the other syd: they declared that they had tried the bottmen and others of that syd, and so farr as they could learne, hir cariage was very unseemly and unchristianelike, and that she was in the hous with them, and went to Lithgow; bot whether they taryed all night, it is not certainly knowen for the present. Besse Layall apoynted to be banished the parische, being *mala fama* before, and now for her vile and scandalous cariage recommended to the baillies.

"Besse Layall hir sister, who harbours such a vile person in hir hous, to be warned and enacted not to suffer hir to come within hir hous night or day."

"This day Besse Cowey did mak satisfaction befor the congregation for hir vile and synfull cariage in Archibald Buccolme's hous, railling on the people on the other syd, and on the whole ministers *ut supra*, and that in sackcloth, according to ordinance of Presbetrie."

The Church lays down the law to the civil authorities in reference to week-day attendance on ordinances:—

"The bailies and counsel are desyred to have the mieting of ther counsel on Moonday before the exercis, or on Wednesday, that so it withdraw them not from the publick worship that day."

"18 *December* 1650.

"The searchers declared all wes quiet, except that ther wes a boat crossed after sermon. It is advysed for redress hierof that the bootmen's names be taken up, and

they all discharged to pass on the Lord's Day. Recommended to the bailies to have a care therof."

"7 *Jany.* 1651.

"The elders declared all wes quiet, except a number of little ones running up and doune after sermons. They are to be taken notice of by elders, and thir parents to be exhorted to keep them within doors, or els they will be challenged for them before session."

Surely this was a "bitter" observance of the Sabbath that is here enjoined! The poor little children are not to be permitted to appear on the street even after church-time, but are to be kept within-doors. It is to be hoped the surveillance of the elders did not extend to the "yairds" with which most of the houses in Culross would be provided, so that the bairns could thus procure a little fresh air and variety without giving offence. Yet so closely is Culross built, that the houses on the right and left sides respectively of the Middle and Back Causeways almost abut on each other, so as to leave scarcely any room for gardens. The bairns in these houses, not to speak of "children of larger growth," must have led a purgatorial existence indeed on warm summer evenings, mewed up in low-roofed, stifling apartments, and unable to stir out for a "turn" unless at the risk of encountering the ecclesiastical proctors.

"21 *February* 1651.

"Jonet Imry cited, accused for staying from the kirk on the Lord's Day, and vaiging from hous to hous; confessed, and promised the lyk should never be hirafter.

"Isobel Donaldson, for the lyk staying at home, having helth of body, sharply rebuked; and enacted, if shee be fund hirafter, to mak publick satisfaction."

"11 *March* 1651.

"It is apoynted that publick intimation be mead to all, and chiefly to strangers, of ther vaiging on the Lord's Day after sermon, and recommends earnestly to elders to tak notice of people within ther bounds what conscience they mak of familie exercise; and if any be yet wanting in this dewtie, to delat them.

"Thomas Dunbar cited, accused of slandering Wm. Adam publickly in the Sand haven, saying that he wes a complyer and furnisher of the enemie. Denyed; bot confessed he said, if he caryed over geare to the enemie he was a furnisher of the enemie. Wm. Adam affirmed he said to his brother John Adam, 'It is well known your brother is a favourer of the enemie;' and he to prove the same the next day."

Some explanation seems necessary in reference to the above entry, and also as regards the condition of parties in Scotland in the spring of 1651. The battle of Dunbar had given Cromwell the command of almost all Scotland south of the Forth, but on the north of it his authority was still vigorously resisted, and at this very moment he was making preparations for passing the Forth and reducing the rest of the country to his sway. This he accomplished in the following month of July, when the battle of Inverkeithing laid Scotland prostrate at his feet, and compelled Charles II. to retreat into England, where the defeat at Worcester in September of that year finally sealed the fate of the Royal cause. The Presbyterians, who regarded the principles of Cromwell and the

Independents with about as great detestation as those of the Prelatists, had for the most part ranged themselves on the side of the King—though among them there were two parties, one of which would have supported Charles, as they had latterly done his father against the English Parliamentarians, whilst the other would only lend their influence on behalf of the Royalist cause when the sovereign authority seemed on the point of being entirely engrossed by the Independents, with their hateful tenets of congregationalism and unlimited toleration. As might have been expected, the more zealous Presbyterians, including the kirk-session of Culross, with their minister, Mr Duncan, at its head, adhered generally to the latter of these parties; and hence we find them denouncing all those who had joined the "Engagement," or made common cause with the King against the English Parliament. But notwithstanding all this, they were strenuously resolved, in so far as they had not yet been forced to submission, to resist to the uttermost the power of Cromwell. This had now made itself pretty firmly felt on what the Culross session-clerk would term "the other side," or south bank of the Forth, where Cromwell's troopers seem to have been ranging much at their free will; but the Culross and Dunfermline districts were yet comparatively free. Here Cromwell's cause was still generally spoken of as that of "the enemy"; and hence to accuse any one of favouring that cause was an allegation which, if untrue, involved a serious charge of slander. As far as we can judge, the con-

tumacious and evil-disposed about Culross were inclined to welcome the advance of Cromwell and his troopers, from an idea of the greater licence and freedom from interference which they expected thereby to enjoy.

About this time John Hamilton, Lord Bargeny or Bargamy, does penance in Culross church for his share in the "Engagement." He seems to have been residing here at this period.

Cromwell's troopers have been generally credited with the reputation of saints, but such of them as took part in the invasion of Scotland hardly maintained that character. They seem to have affected much the society of the *bona robas* on both sides of the Forth, whose impatience of the restraints imposed by the kirk-sessions probably enlisted their sympathies on behalf of Cromwell.

"25 *March* 1651.

"Effie Cornwall and Nans Broune, of the parroch of Caridden,[1] accused of their wicked and scandalous cariag with the troupers on the other syd, and giving intelligence to the enemy, according to the letter sent to our magistrats from the Captain of Blakness—denyed. Recommended to the baillies to try anent them, and to punish them accordingly."

"19 *Apryl.*

"The minister did regrat the negligence of elders in keeping of session, and it is apoynted by the whole session that whosoever shall be found absent without a sufficient excuse shall be censured according to ordinance of Presbetrie.

[1] A village on the south side of the Forth a little below Borrowstounness.

"Besse Lyall to be put out of toune by the baillies, and thes who receave hir within ther houses to be censured according to the Act against recepters of vagabounds."

"26 *Apryl* 1651.

"The session ordaines Bessie Mackie, coalleour, and hir daughters to be banished the toune for ther scandalous synful carriage: recommended to the baillies."

"3 *May* 1651.

"The baillies declares that Besse Mackie and hir daughters war banished the toune, and convoyed to the port by the hangman."

That is to say, that Mrs Mackie and her family were escorted to one of the three *ports* or gates of the burgh—which of them we are not informed—and there formally extruded.

The state of siege in which it was then necessary to keep the town had led to some irregularities:—

"18 *May.*

"The minister regrats the great abuse of watches, and desyrs that elders tak particular notice of it, and that on of ther number within toune attend it night about, and to report accordingly.

"Twentie-four shillings to be given to a distressed sojour."

"3 *June.*

"The searchers declared all was quiet, except that they fand some bairns running through streets; therfor apoynted the Act publickly intimat befor, anent bairns vaiging and sporting on the way on the Lord's Day befor or after sermon, publickly to be intimat the next Lord's Day."

"24 *June* 1651.

"Searchers declared all quiet, except that they apprehended a man of Clakmannan travelling homewirth from the faire. The session apoynts a letter to be sent to Mr Robert Wright, minister ther: the man's name is John Thomsone.

"The fleshers, for slaying on the fasting day after sermon, and some befor, to be warned all against the next day."

"1 *July* 1651.

"John Dalglishe, accused of slaying flesh on the fast day after sermon, confessed his guiltines on his knees befor the session, and promised amendment with the Lord's grace."

"8 *July* 1651.

"The elders searchers declared all was quiet, except that they apprehended a sojour gooing through the toune, whom they rebuked most sharply.

"The session apoynts intimation to be mead publickly of people vaiging on the Lord's Day, and that they keep themselves and bairns within doors and goe about better exercise.

"James Gow, flesher, cited, accused for slaying flesh on the fast day; confessed as befor he slew a beast in the morning befor six o'clock, bot keept both sermons, and because no prove to the contrare, hee is sharply rebuked for the present, and confessed his fault on his knees."

The battle of Inverkeithing or Pitreavie was fought on 20th July, and caused great commotion in Dunfermline, which was taken possession of by Cromwell's victorious army. To judge from the kirk-session records, though barely ten miles distant, the engagement had been attended with no results whatever at Culross. Mr Duncan and his elders pursue the even tenor of their way with as strict an exercise of Presbyterian

discipline as before, though in Dunfermline the meetings of the session had to be suspended for a considerable period. But from the burgh records, which are preserved in continuous order from a date shortly subsequent to the present, we learn that the authority of Cromwell and the Commonwealth—in civil matters, at all events — began soon to be felt in Culross in a very unpleasant fashion.

"2 *Agust* 1651.

"Searchers declared all wes quiet.

"It is apoynted that whenever ther is a fast or day of thanksgiving, that ther be publick intimation to the people that they desist from all sort of ordinarie work and travel that day, and do the work of the day."

Irreverent people would be tempted to remark, in reference to the thanksgiving days, that it would be difficult to discover in what respect they differed from the fasts—unless, indeed, that in the latter case the practice of physical fasting recommended, though not enjoined, in the Presbyterian standards, was actually carried out. There was doubtless a greater gloom and solemnity on the fasts; but as far as regards strict abstinence from ordinary occupations and amusements, there could have been little distinction between them and the thanksgivings.

"24 *Agust* 1651.

"Searchers declared all was quiet, except that they found a web of John Pollock's wyf drying on a dyck, which they delivered to the officers. Marion Horne to be warned.

"To be given upon supplication to a distressed gentlman, Wm. Laurence, 27 sh. 4d."

"2 *September* 1651.

"Marion Horne, cited, accused of prophanation of the Lord's Day by bletching her web in tyme of divine service; confessed that she laid it furth in the morning be daylight. Sharply rebuked, and mead satisfaction befor the session.

"Mr John Duncan declared before session that ther war some officious bodyes in the toune that went from house to house affirming that our ministers war all wrong, and that they wold not doe well to belive them, to try anent such persons."

"16 *October* 1651.

"Those who collect the almes are to reprove them who are straggling in after the bells are roung, and that if they doe not amend they will be taken notice of particularly, and censured accordingly.

"Jonet Cairns, for carying eall on the Lord's Day, confessed hir falt on hir knees: comanded to learne the commands."

"24 *November* 1651.

"Searchers declared all quiet on the Lord's Day, except that some bairns wer on the street, whom they rebuked sharply, and brought them to the kirk with them. The minister exhorted elders to tak notice of young ones in ther severall bounds on the Lord's Day, that they be not found vaiging through the toune, bot be kept within doors, and put to better exercise; and who are negligent herof, that according to the Act publick intimat, parents be charged for them."

"4 *March* 1652.

"David Clerk delated for trubling his neighbours in the night, drunk and crying for tobacco at Wm. Drysdell's doore at twelve hours at even; and James Nasmith, younger, with him, to be warned."

"10 *March* 1652.

"David Clerk cited, his guiltines laid out; he confessed his drunkenes and untymousness of it, and his trubling of

Wm. Drysdel's house seeking tobacco at eleven hours at night, bot denyes that ther was any swearing at all; and is apoynted to mak repentance in publick the next Lord's Day, and to come to the ministers every day betwixt and Sunday."

"30 *March* 1652.

"Margt. Dason, being examined, is fund altogether ignorant of God and His commandments; therfor declared unworthie to enter the place of publick repentance til greater evidence of hir knowledge; therfore cited, and this intimat to hir, and exhorted to learne and to pray for knowledge."

It would seem from the above, that even to do public penance in church was a privilege in certain cases, when the delinquent was supposed to stand in need of some previous preparation.

"That some thing be spoken the next day in publick against people standing in the kirkyaird befor and after sermon.

"Intimation mead of a collection for the comanders who did supplicat the Presbetrie: the baillies to collect."

"4 *May* 1652.

"The minister did mor particularly recommend to the session what wes publickly intimat anent the necessare duetie incumbent to us in thir tymes, of private fasting in families, and that they should be exemplare in the same."

The above entry shows that actual fasting was expected to be practised, in addition to attendance on public ordinances and cessation from work. It is not likely, indeed, that abstinence from food was ever attempted to be enforced, as in Roman Catholic times.

"15 *June* 1652.

"To intimat publickly that people keep ther little ones at home in the house; or if they bring them to the kirk, to keepe them at the and not suffer them goe through and truble the kirk."

"4 *Agust* 1652.

"It is apoynted to warne such as lyes in the kirkyaird betwixt bells, and such as stay betwixt doores in tyme of worship, to leave of, or els to be censured."

"Betwixt doores" means the space between the outer and inner doors of the ground storey of the tower, which serves as a lobby or porch to the church.

A very important matter is involved in the following entries. Up to the present date the parish of Culross, in addition to what it still contains, comprised a large tract of territory on the west which is now occupied by the modern town of Kincardine, with the lands of Burnbrae, Lurg, Sands, Kellywood, and others. These all now go to make up the estate of Sands, and a considerable portion of that of Tulliallan. Shipping and foreign trade in the end of the last and beginning of the present century converted Kincardine into a thriving commercial place, with many substantial streets and houses; but in 1653, and for nearly a hundred years afterwards, its population, though large, consisted mainly of those employed in the extensive coal and salt works of the Earl of Kincardine and his successors—an industry which, in this quarter, is now entirely extinct. The parish of Tulliallan comprehended then merely the barony of that name, whose population in ancient

times comprised only the lord of Tulliallan Castle, with his servants and tenants, the inhabitants of the little hamlet of Dalquhamy, and those of a few scattered houses. These were all easily accommodated in the little old church of Tulliallan, situated in Tulliallan Park, about a mile to the north of the present castle. But immediately adjoining, within the parish of Culross, was a large and teeming population, occupying the lands of Kincardine, which, more than fifty years before, had been acquired by that great captain of industry, Sir George Bruce. These persons, though residing fully four miles from the church of Culross, and little more than one from that of Tulliallan, were yet, under the pain of severe ecclesiastical censure and penalties, obliged to attend regularly the former place of worship, as that with which they were parochially connected. It is readily perceptible that where it was regarded as an incumbent duty on a kirk-session to keep a strict surveillance over the walk and conversation of every individual parishioner, it was absolutely necessary that his attendance on the parish church should be rigidly required. The only remedy for such a state of things, where a district with a large population was situated at an inconvenient distance from its own and within more convenient access of another place of worship, was to have it disjoined from the original and annexed to the more suitable parish. The commencement of such a process, to disjoin Kincardine from Culross and annex it to Tulliallan, is recorded in the following entries. We have no record in the

session-books of its completion, but it was accomplished in 1672, and in 1675 a new church was erected for Tulliallan to accommodate the influx of new parishioners.

"17 *May* 1653.

"The whilk day ther was a supplication given in by the people of Kincardine and Lurg for a disjunction of them from ther parish kirk of Culros to Tulliallan kirk. The supplication was read; the session considered upon it, and thought it a mater very considerable, and a work very necessarie, and will contribut to ther uttermost for the advancement of the samen. Others being present at the reading of the supplication, approved verrie weill of that work. The supplication followeth:—

"The Supplication of the Indwellers of Lurg and Kincardine,

"*Humbly Sheweth,*

"That whereas it is weill known that we dwell and live at a great distance from our parioch kirk of Culros, and the most part of us being work people that serves at a sore, wearisome, and laborious work in coal hewes and salt pans, and being a numerous people besides, ther being lykwise many among us of age, many infirm, and many young ones, so that wee cannot attend upon the Lord's worship in his ordinances upon the Sabboth-day at our parioch kirk, not being able to travell so long a way of mor nor two long maills,[1] and yet might goe to kirk if they were near one, so that our poore souls are defrauded of the benefit of the means of grace, which should be dearer to us than our lyves, wherby we find ourselves in a very sad and pitiful condition that cannot be remeaded while we are lyable to attend the said parioch kirk, and seeing ther may be some way

[1] Scotch miles, which actually are about an eighth longer than imperial miles, but, as ordinarily computed, were nearly twice as long.

provyded for our ease and accommodation in this particular by joyning us unto the congregation of Tilliallen, which is bot a very little congregation, and to whom we lye very near, and may have a kirk and house of meeting for God's worship hard at our doors, to the building wherof we will contribute to our power, that our land lairds and masters shall be litell burdened but so far as they please: These, therfor, are to desyr your to take our hard condition to consideration, and to use all means together with us wherby so good and commendable a work may be brought on, and to give us advice, aide, assistance, and concurrence, that a number of poor sterving souls lying in ignorance of God and of the gospel may heave the meanes of salvation mor commodiouslie, and our souls may bless you for acting in so necessarie a work, and your answer we humblie expect."

"12 *Julie* 1653.

"Jhon Gray, Gilbert Miller, James Anderson, David Gray, all those being cited for the playing at cards on the Sabbath-day after sermon, confessed the faults all of them upon ther knees with tears, for they war sharplie reproved; and they are to be marked and inacted, that if they ever be apprehended in the lyk fall, they shall make their repentance in publick for it, to the which act they did bind themselves by touching the pen. Jhon Grey, James Anderson, Gilbert Miller, David Gray, *sic subscribuntur*."

"Compeared Cathren Mackleren, being cited for flyting and being drunk, was accused; confessed she called Margaret Halliday ill-gotten geate,[1] and that she was gotten at a coall pitt. She is to be noted as a vile person. Both to be cited againe the next day."

[1] Also written *gett*, *gait*, and *geit*, an old word for a child. In the opening chapter of 'Redgauntlet' reference is made to the *gaits* or junior class in the High School; and the boys in the first or youngest class in the Edinburgh Academy used to be, and perhaps still are, called the *gaits* or *gytes*. The derivation is from *get* or *beget*.

"19 *July* 1653.

"Jhone Hunter and Jonnet Cunninghame, being cited, he for suffering his folks to pull sybows on the Lord's Day, and she for the pulling, he compeared and denyed that he knew of it—referred; shee compeared not—referred."

"26 *July* 1653.

"Christian Blyth and Jannet Cunningham, being cited for pulling sybows on the Lord's Day, compeared, denyed—referred. John Sharp to be cited, who saw them."

"2 *Agust* 1653.

"Jannet Cunningham, being cited for pulling sybows, compeared—denyed; was sharply rebuked."

It does certainly appear rather strange that the pulling of a few early onions for the Sunday's kail-pot should be visited with a severe rebuke, whilst no higher penalty is inflicted for playing at cards on the Sabbath—an act which, at the present day, would be regarded generally as a gross profanation, and scarcely ever be witnessed, at least in country places. But extremes meet.

Here is a parent summoned on account of his children, somewhat after the manner of a modern school board:—

"4 *October* 1653.

"James Nasmith, cited for his children vaiging on the Lord's Day, compeared—declared that he could not gitt them restrained. They are recommended to the magistrates to be taken order with for their wickedness."

"13 *December* 1653.

"Peter Kennedie, the poore blind scholler in Saint Andrews, to gett £3, 15s. 4d."

"20 *December.*

"All quiet on the Lord's Day, only Jhone Robertson and his son going from the afternoon's sermon; to be cited againe the next day.

"Intimation to be mead out of pulpit on the next Lord's [Day] that a collection be everie quarter of the yeare for poore schollers."

"3 *January* 1654.

"All quiet on the Lord's Day. On of the elders appointed to look the loft evrie Lord's Day, that ther be no dinne in it."

"17 *January* 1654.

"The scholars of Kincardine and Tulliallan delated for fighting on with ane other the last Sabbath-day, the 8 of January; the names of them to be gotten, that they may be scourged at the sight of some elders and the minister, and word to be sent to Tulliallen about that busines."

"18 *April* 1654.

"The poore in the hospitall to be spoken to be the minister and William Hewison, that they may abstene from ther drinking.

"It is enacted that if any of the poore of the hospitall be found in eal-houses, that the wholl mony that is allowed upon them in the week shall be detained from them."

The hospital here referred to must have been the one founded by the second George Bruce of Carnock, who left the distribution of the funds in the hands of the minister and kirk-session. It was situated at the west end of the town, near the site of the present Balgownie House. The other hospital, generally known as Lord Bruce's Hospital, and then situated at the foot of the Abbey Orchard, was wholly under

the control of the first Earl of Elgin, who at this time was still alive.

"Intimation to be mead out of pulpit that the thrid bell ring evrie day at eight hours, and that the scholars repeat the carages[1] in the kirk evrie Lord's Day."

The above entry marks an important epoch in the history of Scotch Presbyterianism. The Larger and Shorter Catechisms, as compendia of Calvinistic faith and doctrine, had a few years before been drawn up by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and were now being regularly introduced into Scottish schools and families for the religious instruction of youth. I am not aware, however, that the committal of the Larger Catechism to memory was ever enforced. As regards the Shorter Catechism, it was taught in every school, and the schoolmaster was expected to see that his pupils made themselves proficients in it, and were able to repeat correctly the answers to the questions on Sundays before the minister and congregation. There were also special diets of examination for old and young in the church, when all were thoroughly "targed" and examined in the Bible and Catechism as to their religious knowledge. And though the custom has now fallen much into desuetude, it was long the practice of every well-regulated household in Scotland for the head of the family to drill all the members of it, servants included, in the Shorter Catechism every Sunday

[1] *Carritches* or Shorter Catechism.

evening. Some even had a preliminary drill on the Saturday night.

"30 *May* 1654.

"The session thinks fit that (because of the great abuse is in eall-houses by selling too much drink at once to people) that some elders goe with the ministers and forbidde those that sell eall not to sell till people be drunke."

Many will think that the above is about the wisest edict ever issued by a kirk-session.

"6 *June* 1654.

"The minister, Jhone Sands, William Huison, shew that did visit the eall-houses in the east end of the toune."

"8 *August.*

"No misorder on the Lord's Day, except some litell boyes that trouble the kirk to be punished."

"19 *September.*

"Recommended to Alexr. Eizat, who was gone to Dunfermline to try what is given to the man who cuts children of the stone."

In reference to the above singular entry, the following extracts, belonging to the same period and evidently referring to the same "man," may be quoted here from Dr E. Henderson's 'Extracts from the Kirk-session Records of Dunfermline':—

"1654. 5 *Septr.*—This day the collector of the contribution for *the bairnes paind of the stane* reported yt they had collected 28lib. 12s. 6d.

"12 *Septr.*—The session considering that the money collectit will not be able to pey the *doctor who is come from*

Glasgow, and it being reported be James Reid, provist, yt he hade with great difficultie agried wt him for 36 lib. money Scotts for ane of the bairnes—it is thot fitt yt the minister and James Huton deal with the doctor for more ease of the peyt.

"19 *Sept.*—This day it is reported (to the session) be those who were appoynted, yt they hade spoken the doctor, and that he would have no less nor for *ilk childe cutting and curing*, by payt. for his chairges and interteny-ment the tyme he was heir, and drink money to his men. Mr Oliphant, minstr., reported yt he had collectit 30lb. from gentlemen and uther nytbors sen the last day to help to pay the doctor. It is thot fitt yt *a collection be gatherid fra the gilde, the trades*, an comon burges's, as also that the ordinar collection of twa Sabbaths be given for this use. The doctor got peyd. . . .

"1657. 20 *Aug.*—The session appoint Thomas Stevenson, collector, to give 12lib. to James Brunt to help to pey the doctor, called Doctor Sutor, for cutting his childe of ye stone."

As Dr Henderson remarks in his notes to these extracts, there is something very unaccountable in so many children being affected at the same time with this malady. It is devoutly to be hoped that many little lives were not sacrificed to the cruel quackery of a charlatan. Dr Souter's charges seem to have been extortionate, and to have deterred the good people of Culross from availing themselves of his services. At least we have no further reference to him or his operations.

About this period Mr John Duncan, incumbent of the first charge, seems to have died, though there is no special record of the event. He had been twenty-

four years minister of Culross; and though admitted in 1631, in the days of Episcopacy, he had readily conformed to the new state of things introduced in 1638, and become a most zealous champion of Presbytery. Active and zealous he certainly was, though his zeal appears occasionally to have been without discretion, and even approximated him to the character of a Protestant Torquemada.

In March 1655 a new set of elders is announced as about to be formed. A curious list of objections is given in against certain persons who either already hold or are proposed to be nominated to that office. The following is the entry in the session-book:—

"Objections against the Elders Listed.

"24 *March* 1655.

"1. Adam Masterton was *malæ famæ*—that is, he was given to drink, and that it was reported he was . . . ; and that Robert Sands said that he heard him say, that if he were a gentleman and upon the session, he rather see Will. Burn and Will. Adam hanged over the steeple befor they gott there will.

"2. Jhone Blaw was scandalous for drinking and breaking glasses with his goodfather, and that he uses no familie exercise.

"3. Sir George Prestone, objections to be against him the next day.

"4. Doctor Colvill was no residenter.

"5. Blairhall, for negatives he hes qualifications, but positives he hes non.

"6. Bordie, for negatives he hes qualifications, but wants positives.

"7. George Henderson, for negatives he hes, and positive qualifications lykwyse.

"8. Borrowen does not pray in his familie.

"9. George Miller prays.

"Referrs the list of the elders till the next day, and Adam Masterton's scandalls to be tryed."

"The minister shew that the Presbetrie had appointed Mr James Sibbald to come and preach in Culross, and to shew to the congregation that the place was vaiking by the removall of Mr Jhone Duncan."

"11 *October* 1655.

"The Ladie desyred a lon of the kirk Bible, which was granted, upon condition that shee make it not worse."

"2 *March* 1656.

"Intimation to be mead the next Lord's Day for a collection for the people which had ther houses brunt in Edinburgh.

"No session on the 11 of May, because the minister might not goe to preach by reason of ane sore laigge, which he gott coming from Edinburgh."

"18 *May* 1656.

"All the elders was present this day.

"No misorder on the Lord's Day, save two boys of George Wilsone was seen out of the kirk in tyme of divine service; to be cited—all references reserved."

Mr Matthew Fleming succeeds Mr Duncan in the ministry of the first charge, Mr Robert Edmonstone continuing in that of the second. A diminution in zeal and energy is perceptible in the tone of the session minutes after Mr Duncan's death, and ere long they cease altogether. But I anticipate.

"1 *June* 1656.

"Intimation to be mead the next Lord's Day that people may not lay in the kirk-yeard on the Sabbath-day betwixt

the second and third bell, but that they come in and heare the catechizes: every who does so to be censured."

"16 *December* 1656.

"Intimation to be mead on the Lord's Day for a collection to the imprisoned ministers amongst the Turks."

"The heritors and sessioners and counsellors being desyred to meet 21 of December, did meett, and having mett, the minister shew them that the Presbetrie desyred them to use means to gitt Kincardine disjoyned from this parioch, and joyned to Tulliallan; 2d, that they would purchase ane other manse; 3d, that they would setle the localitie of the stipend: all to be advysed on."

"24 *December* 1656.

"The whilk day Mr James Sibbald, moderator, preached on the 2d Thess. 5 chap. 22 verse, and after sermon Mr Matthew Fleming was received in an orderly way to bear burden in the work of the ministrie, according to the Acts and constitutions of the Kirk.

"Intimation of a fast was mead, 28 day, for a blessing to the labours of the ministers, to be keeped the 30 day of December 1656: the fast was keeped accordingly."

Though the keeping of Yule or Christmas and other ecclesiastical holidays was proscribed, there seems to have been no interference with such occasions as Hogmanay and New Year's Day. It is probable, therefore, the Culross people would fully indemnify themselves for their austerities on the penultimate day of the year.

"27 *January* 1657.

"Jhone M'Queen, a sillie daft bodie, who was mead drunk, was complined of in the session. The people that gave him drink to be discharged, otherwise to be censured."

"10 *March* 1657.

"James Peacock, appoynted be the session to sitt in the quier to still the children that maks dinne in tyme of dyvine service on the Lord's Day.

"Jhone Midletone, the bedles man, to waitt on the kirk doors on the Lord's Day to take notice of the children that maks dinne there in tyme of divine service."

"24 *March* 1657.

"Intimation to be mead on the Lord's Day out of pulpit, first, that people sleep not in the kirk in tyme of sermone; 2nd, that there be no standing in the kirk-yeard when the children are saying the catechises in the kirk; 3d, that non vaige on the Lord's Days, either in tyme of sermon or after sermone."

"5 *May* 1657.

"No session thir dayes bygone, by reason both the ministers was sick.

"Intimation to be mead to the people that the first bell will ring at seven hours, and the last bell at 8 hours on the week days, that people may come sooner then they use to do.

"Becaus the great bell in the steeple is ryven, the session recommends it to the thesaurer and the baillie to cause shear hir, that shee may be mead ready for ringing with all diligence."

"30 *June* 1657.

"It is recommended to the elders that evrie on of them visit there own bounds evrie Lord's Day after the sermons, that people may not sitt at doors or without doors craking their ordinarie discourse."

"21 *July* 1657.

"Two elders are appoynted to goe through the streets evrie Sabbath about fyve hours after sermon, to see that ther be no people sitting at doors, or children playing in the streets."

With the last two enactments for the rigid observance of Sunday, even to the suppression of friendly gossip on the doorstep and children running about, all that is of interest in the second volume of the session records of Culross terminates. A gap now occurs in these records of nearly twenty years, and when they are resumed, times and circumstances have greatly altered.

CHAPTER X.

THE BURGH RECORDS OF CULROSS FROM 1652 TO 1659.

THE town council minutes again become available in 1652, and from this period continue in unbroken succession down to the present day. With the end of the first half of the seventeenth century a sad and lasting change has come over the destinies of Culross. The day of her fame and prosperity has passed away, never to return, though she still continues to hold a respectable position, and to exhibit in her history much that is well worthy of study and consideration. And she contrives also, as we shall see, to recover somewhat from the deplorable condition to which, in common with the rest of Scotland, she had been reduced by the great Civil War.

That war had, at the period when these records recommence, nearly ceased. Cromwell, by his successive victories at Dunbar, Inverkeithing, and Worcester, had accomplished the task of reducing Great Britain to his sway, and his authority both in England and Scotland was almost undisputed. In the latter country he was endeavouring to effect an

incorporation of the national institutions with those of England—or rather, I should say, to make English principles and laws paramount—and thus ensure a uniform system of government for the whole island. However well-intentioned he might be in this respect, and however useful might be many of the reforms that he introduced, it is certain that he proceeded far too much on the rough-and-ready lines of the autocrat; stirred up, by his ruthless disregard of their national feelings, the prejudices, both patriotic and religious, of the Scottish people; and paved the way ultimately for the restoration, shortly after his death, of the Stewarts—an event which, for the inhabitants of North Britain at all events, was fraught with much misery. Adopting even the most exalted estimate of his character that can be urged by the most devoted of his admirers, it will probably not be disputed that Cromwell's ideas were at least considerably in advance of his age; and their enforcement in legislative practice could not fail in many instances to be otherwise than eminently distasteful. Not the least obnoxious of his measures was the imposition of heavy assessments for the maintenance of his army, which was quartered in detachments throughout Scotland.

Here is recorded a special grievance in the form of a "requisition," which seems to have occasioned an immense amount of inconvenience to the inhabitants of Culross. Castle Campbell, for the use of whose garrison such a serious amount of bedding was demanded as detailed below, lies about ten

miles north of Culross in a direct line, and is romantically situated on a plateau in a gorge of the Ochils, behind what was in those days merely the little village of Dollar. On a clear day it is distinctly visible from the high ground above Culross Abbey. It then belonged to the Earl of Argyll, and had a few years before been burned by Montrose, in revenge, as is alleged, of the destruction of the "bonnie house o' Airlie," in Forfarshire, the family mansion of the Ogilvies, by Argyll and his troops. Doubtless it would be rather in a dismantled condition when taken possession of by Cromwell's soldiers, who, however valiant they might be in battle, seem to have had little of the Spartan element in their composition, as far as sleeping arrangements were concerned :—

"26 *Decr.* 1653.

"The qlk day, in presence of the saids bailleis and counsell, compeired certaine Inglyshe trouperis of the garizone of Castle Campbell, who, being commandit be the governour there to repair to Culrois with certaine footmen of that garizone to receave furth of the said burgh the number of 22 fether beddis, with twentie-two fether bollsters, 44 fether coddis,[1] 44 pair sheittis, 44 pair blankettis, and 22 coverings, for the use of the souldieris within the garizone, conforme to ane order direct from Collonell Reid, governor of Stirling, to them for that effect; and qlk ordour being red and considered be the said bailleis and counsell, and they having taken the samyne to their consideration, they thought it fitt and expedient that ilk £3 Scottis of cess sould reckone ane bed with the furnitor in manner foresaid. The persones names that are appoyntit to furnishe out the

[1] Pillows.

beds with the furniter furth of the severall quarteris of this burgh followeth." [The names follow of the persons thus assessed through the respective quarters of the town.]

"The qlk bedis was transported furthe of [torn away] for Castell Cambell this day, except Thomas [torn away] Jonet Prymrois beds, qlk decreit till to be delyverit, &c. [illegible and torn away]."

In a week after the despatch of the beds—that is to say, on 2d January 1654—one of the town councillors is ordered on a mission to Perth, for the double purpose of conveying thither the cess or tribute-money, which was now a fortnight in arrear, and of making a remonstrance on the subject of the requisition by the garrison of Castle Campbell. Another councillor reports the same day, that he had already been twice there for the purpose of obtaining a receipt for these articles from the governor or officer in command, but finding that the latter was absent in Stirling, his expedition had been fruitless. He is, however, desired to proceed again to the Castle, and to set out on his journey early the following morning. Two days afterwards he reappears before the council with a dismal account of the cavalier treatment he had received from the governor, who positively refused to grant a receipt, on the allegation that the beds had not arrived in proper time, and that, at all events, he must first be paid a sum of money which he had demanded by letter from the town of Culross. In great perplexity the magistrates resolve to send yet another messenger to endeavour to bring this military autocrat to reason.

This last envoy succeeds in his object, and procures a receipt for the beds, but, before getting it, is compelled to pay 15s. sterling of smart-money (worth nearly five guineas at the present day) on behalf of the soldiers of the garrison.

On 31st January 1654, William Drysdaill and Thomas Dunbar are appointed commissioners to go again to Stirling about the business of the beds supplied to the garrison of Castle Campbell. There is scarcely anything recorded in the minute-books which seems to have disturbed the town more, or gave more trouble and annoyance to the town council, than this requisition, which was probably also enforced in a very imperious and unfeeling way. We can imagine the consternation and confusion occasioned in Culross by the receipt of this extraordinary "Christmas-box" (it will be remembered that the demand was first intimated on 26th December 1653), and the appearance in the council chamber of a band of grim "booted apostles," though possibly of less savage disposition than the Scottish nation found in after-days in Claverhouse's dragoons.

The troopers from Castle Campbell had made themselves comfortable in Culross. In a minute of 6th February we find that "the counsell hes appoyntit £8, 5s. Scottis to be given to Jonet Tomson, spous to Jon. Burnsyd, £4, 5s. whereof in satisfactione of her compt for furnishing of meat and drink to the Inglish on that day they came for the beds, and £4 wherof of payment of her husband's compt."

"20 *March* 1654.

"The qlk day the saids bailleis and counsell, for certaine considerations moving thame, hes thought it miet and expedient that the haill inhabitants of this burgh be friendlie and tymeouslie advertised that none of thame reset, manteane, nor interteane any of the norland pairtie, or thais persones that hes gone out of this burgh, or partis next adjacent, as they will be answerabill upone their perrell."

The above entry is directed against such of the burgesses as allied themselves with any movement for the restoration of the Royal family. As the great strength of this party lay in the Highlands, it received occasionally the designation of the "norland pairtie." Cromwell's dragoons at Castle Campbell and Stirling served effectually, as we see, to keep the town of Culross in awe.

The following is the first account we have in the existing archives of Culross of the ceremony of riding the burgh marches. In those times of civil war and Puritan severity it does not appear to have been a very lively affair, and indeed is scarcely ever referred to till after the Restoration, when the "marches day" is re-established as a regular institution, and observed with great *éclat.*

"15 *May* 1654.

"The said day the absent counsellaris of the said burghe ar ordanit be the baillies to pay ane unlaw of 18s. Scottis; and if it sall happene the present counsellaris to absent themselves, and not to accompany the magistrates to the common mure for visiting the marches, they ar ordained to pay 16s. Scottis; and thos that went throw with the

baillies and did not accompany thame to the denner, ar ordanit to pay 12s. Scottis."

The famous General Monk, then commanding at Stirling, now appears on the scene, and seems willing enough to aid the burgh by making an order on the parish of Culross to bear its share in the burden of supplying the bedding to Castle Campbell.

Several entries in the summer and autumn of 1654 refer to a fine imposed on the town and parish of Culross by Cromwell's military governor at Dunfermline, on the charge of having received and sheltered a company of Royalist soldiers. It amounted to £40 sterling, equal to nearly £200 of our present money; but it would appear to have been ultimately either departed from or greatly mitigated.

Besides the garrison of Castle Campbell, a requisition had been sent to Culross, as shown in the following extract, from the garrison of Inchgarvie for a supply of bedding. Inchgarvie, as its name denotes,[1] is a rocky islet in the Firth of Forth, situated nearly midway in the strait between North and South Queensferry. Quite recently it has come into notice as the resting-place of the cluster of piers intended to form the middle support of the Forth Bridge. A fortress seems to have existed there from ancient times, and had been repaired and garrisoned by Cromwell in his expedition to Scotland, which resulted in the victories of Dunbar and Inverkeithing, and the general subjugation of the country. During

[1] Gaelic *innis*, island, and *garbhach*, rough or rugged.

the alarm of a French invasion in the first years of the present century, a fort of modern construction was erected on the rocks, and forms a prominent object in the scenery of the Forth at this place.

'9 *Octr.* 1654.

"The qlk day the bailleis and counsell having taken to consideratione the great necessitie thair is in seeking restoratione of the fether beds that went furthe of this burghe to the garizone of Garvie, from the governor of Leithe, where they presentlie ar, in respect of the shyfting of the said garizone of Garvie; thairfor they have unanimouslie condescendit and agreed unto, that the said Johne Mertoun goe over to Leithe as commissioner for them to the effect foresaid, and that he mak his adres there with all convenience."

The burgh is still greatly exercised regarding the feather beds sent to Castle Campbell, the burden of supplying which it considered should be shared with the town by the heritors and others in the parish living beyond the municipal boundaries. After much wrangling it succeeded ultimately in enforcing its claims.

"5 *January* 1655.

"The said day the said baillies and counsell have appoyntit and ordanit Wm. Drysdaill to goe to Dunfermling to the governour there, for requyring bak againe of the fether beds taken to Garvie; and Johne Mertoun is appoyntit to goe with him, and that they repair thither against Wednesday next."

The fleshers and boatmen of Culross become troublesome, and are called to order:—

"21 *May* 1655.

"The qlk day thair being representit before the saids baillies and counsell that the fleshers of this burghe dothe great abuse within the samyne, that when any strangeris upone ane mercat day or other dayes comes to this burghe for doing of their lawfull effeirs and bussines, that they no sooner seing ane strangeris dog but that they presentlie hund or cause be hundit their great flesher dogs at thame, to the great hurt and skaithe alreadie done to severall persones and bairnes within this burghe; thairfor to prevent, &c." (penalties assigned). . . .

"Moreover, wheras the saids bailleis and counsell, taking to consideratione the frequent and continewall resorting and reparing of outland flesheris[1] to this mercat upon mercat dayes with fleshes, to the weill, proffeit, and behooff of this burghe, till of lait; that they have withdrawene themselves, and does not so frequentlie come as they was in vse to do, and qlk is thought to be throw the of the flesheris of this burghe their girring, tanting, and mocking of them, and qlk tends greatlie to the damnage and skeathe of the persons and inhabitants within the said burghe, in seiking suche heighe pryces for their flesh as they do; and the saids bailleis and counsel, being ryplie advyset in the said business, they have ordanit, &c." (protection is promised to the "outland flesheris").

"The said day, their being represented befor the saids bailleis and counsell the great wrong and injurie committed be James Miller and Robert Cowstoun, boatmen within this burghe, in their refusing of dewtie to strangers and other persones within this burghe, in not transporting them over to the other syd, wind and wather fairlie serving them for that effect, unles they get what they demand in ane extraordiner way: Thairfor the saids bailleis and counsell, for prevent-

[1] Butchers not belonging to the burgh.

ing the lyk in tyme coming, have statut and ordanit that they nor nane of them presume to refuse to transport any stranger or other persone within this burghe, upon their laill[1] and honest occasions, for payment to them of ane shilling sterling; certifieing thame that if they or any of them refuses to goe over upone the conditions aforsaid, that they sall incure ane unlaw of £20, and their scullis to be taken from their boatis, ay and how often the samyne sall be swa refused, laill advisement being given to the saids baillies theranent."

A shilling sterling, equal in value to about 5s. at the present day, seems rather a high rate to pay for crossing the Firth of Forth from Culross to Borrowstounness, a distance of little more than three miles. But travelling, which is now so cheap and general, was in ancient times an expensive luxury, when so few stirred from home unless when compelled by necessary business. It will be observed that in those town council minutes belonging to the days of Cromwell's *régime*, money is frequently computed by the sterling rather than the Scottish standard. This would seem to have been one of the results of the Protector's scheme for establishing a general uniformity in civil administration throughout Great Britain.

Mr Duncan, the minister of the first charge, having died about this time, the town council exert themselves in endeavouring to procure a successor for the vacancy. As already mentioned, Mr Matthew Fleming was ultimately appointed.

[1] Legal or lawful.

"2 *July* 1655.

"The qlk day the saids baillies and counsell, be pluralitie of voices, have continewed and continewes George Wilsoun and Wm. Pearsoun commissioneris, to goe to the Synod, that is to meat and convene at Cupar in Fyff, the 3 of July 1655, for giving ane call to Mr Johne Rig, minister at Portencraig, for supleing the cure at the Kirk of Culrois, now vacand throw the deceis Mr Jon. Duncan, minister therat."

Here is a sumptuary edict regarding "brydellis":

"10 *Septr.* 1655.

"The said day the saids baillieis and counsell of this burghe, taking to consideratione the great abuse that formerly hes been used and practised at brydellis, and the great and exorbitant pryces taken be the makeris therof in tymes bygane, qlk is ane great and hie exactione put upone the people of this burghe: Thairfor, for preventing the lyk in tyme comeing, the saids bailleis and counsell hes statut and ordanit that no persone nor persones within this burghe, nor libertie therof, presume nor tak upon thame, under quhatsomever culler or pretext, to exact, craive, nor receave from no persone nor persones that sall happen to convene at brydellis within this burghe and libertie therof, mor nor 6s. 8d. from ilk persone that sall happene to be therat, for their brydell lawing, and that they mak guid and sufficient cheir therefor, suche as guid beiff and muttoun, rosted and sodden; and that no infralitie, miscariage, or abuse be vsed at the said brydellis; and the persone who sall happene to contravene this present Act is ordanit to pay ane unlaw of £ *toties quoties.*"

On 10th October 1655, Alexander Bruce, probably the brother of the Earl of Kincardine, and who afterwards succeeded him as second earl of that title, is chosen provost of Culross, and his name appears at

the top of the list of the new bailies and councillors elected for the ensuing year, 1656. On the 8th of October he had been "admitted and receavit be the whoill counsell to be one of the members therof."

Here is a curious edict compelling the members of council to wear hats :—

"15 *Octr.* 1655.

"The said day, whereas it was appoyntit and ordanit be one of the last references of counsell, that none of the persons that war to sitt in counsell in tyme coming sould come without ane hatt therunto, and that under the paine of twelf shillings Scottis; and it being found be the said provost, bailleis, and counsell that there was of thair number that had transgressed the said Act be bringing bonnettis and caps instead of hatts, and the mater being takin to consideratione, they, be considerations moving them, have pardonit and forgiven the persons transgressors of the said Act, upone consideratione they nor no other of the counsell do the lyk in tyme comeing; and that no ignorance be pretendit heruntill, the said provost, baillieis, and counsell have statut and ordanit that whosoever of the counsell that sall come to the samyne, not having ane hatt upon his head, sall pay ane vnlaw of twelf shillings Scottis—nawayes to be forgiven, but the samyne to be presentlie exactit."

Another Act of the same date appoints the town-officers, and prescribes their duties and emoluments.

The two following extracts are interesting as the earliest reference in the existing burgh records of Culross to the establishment of a post :—

"29 *October* 1655.

"The said day it is ordanit that tryall be maid of ane honest man within this burghe for being of ane common post, qlk is to be remembered the next counsell day."

"26 *November* 1655.

"ACT CONCERNING ANE POSTE.

"The same day the saids bailleis and counsell, taking to consideratione how neidfull and expedient it was to have ane commoun poste, of ane guid and honest reputatione, within this burghe, setled upone for goeing and reparing to Edinburgh, and bak againe therefra, upone urgent and necessar occasions, wherintill he might be imployed with letters and other things, qlk might prove verie advantageous to siche as sould have ado that way: Thairfor the saids bailleis and counsell, upon mature deliberatione, have pitched and condescendit upon ane honest man, Johne Simsone, merchand, burges of Culrois, to be their commoun poste from Edinburgh and bak againe; and have ordanit that the said commoun poste goe furthe of this burghe everie wek vpon Twysday, be nyne houris in the mornyng, to the said burgh of Edinburgh, and that he returne bak againe therefra to this burgh the samyne wek upon Thursday, lykways be nyne houris in the mornyng, and that weiklie and ilk weik during the space of ane quarter of ane yeir fra his entrie, qlk is herby declarit to be and begin upone Twysday come eight dayes, being the fourth day of December next to come; and also have ordanit that quhatsomever persone or persones sall have any letter or other commoditie to send to Edinburgh, that the samyne persons come to James Craiche, present thesaurer of the burghe of Culrois, and delyver the samyne letters and commodities to him, with two shillings Scottis money[1] for ilk letter, and six pennies[2] for the weyht of commodities that sall happene to be delyverit to him, and that this be done befor the said day of the said commoun poste his goeing away furthe of this burghe to the said burghe of Edinburgh, to the effect the samyne letters and commodities may be delyverit be the said thesaurer to him in dew tyme, that no slip nor hindrance may be maid in his away

[1] Twopence sterling. [2] A halfpenny sterling.

going at the dyet aforesaid; of the qlk service the said Johne Simsone, being present, did accept for the caus underwrittene, and gave his eathe to be faithfull thairintill in discharging ane dewtie in maner above specifeit; and that he sould be comptabill and answerabill to the saids bailleis and counsell of this burghe of any sowme of money that he sall happene to receave during the tyme of his service as ane payit for letteris or other commoditie, the samyne being under ten pund weight; and if the commoditie be above the samyne, the said bailleis and counsell hes heirby condescendit that the benefit therof sall redound to himself: For the qlk causes the said John Simpsone is to receave threttie shillings Scottis money—to witt, auchtene shillings Scottis from the thesaurer of this burghe, and ane shilling sterling from David Mitchell, chalmerland to the Earle of Kyncarne, in name of the said nobill earle—and that weiklie fra his entrie to his service during the tyme aforsaid."

The following entry has reference to a skirmish that seems to have taken place about this time in the neighbourhood of Culross :—

"10 *December* 1655.

"The said day, in presence of the saids bailleis and counsell, George Bennet, efter being examined befor thame anent the lynning that was bought for the use of the killed men above the town for winding thame thairintill, and what was done therewith—the said George confessit that there was onlie one winding sheet disponit upone, and for the remender of the lynning, he did sell at Wm. Pearsone, baillie, his directione, for such ane pryce as he could gett convenientlie therefor, and declarit that the elne therof was sold for 10s. Scottis the elne; and that the said £4, 10s., qlk was the full pryce therof in keiping, qlk he was willing to pay upon demand: Thairfor the saids baillieis and counsell ordanit him to pay the samyne whenever he sould be

The Sand Haven and Townhouse of Culross.

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CULROSS from the High Path behind the Town.

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requyrit therefor; and the said George being present, did condescend so to doe."

Next we have some enactments regarding the pier and the flesh-market :—

"10 *December* 1655.

"The same day the saids bailleis and counsell, finding that the pear of this burghe will in short tyme become rewinous and unprofitable if the samyne be not helped and repared: Thairfor, for helping of the samyne in tyme comeing, they have appoyntit and ordanit that the shoir dewtie of this burgh be reservit thairfor; and it being reported in counsell that John Burnsyd had severall great stones within his ship now lying at the peir, qlk he had transported from Sainct Andrews for ballast to his ship, qlk might be conducing for guid of the pear in reparing therof, and for exporting of the samyne furthe of the said ship, the bailleis and counsell appoyntis Johne Burnsyd to pitche upone such persones as he sall find most meit therefor, and the town to pay thame their wages."

"24 *December* 1655.

"The said day the saids baillieis and counsell, taking to consideratione how vndecent and vncomelie it is to sie the carcases of beiff lying upone the mercat croce of this burghe upone ordinarie mercat dayes, and other fleshes hinging and laying about the samyne, nawayes accustomat in vthir burghes within this natione; and finding that that land laitlie acquyrit be William Adame from Sara Blaw, qlk is fenced about with ane stane dyk, would be ane fitt and convenient pairt for keiping ane fleshe mercat within this burgh weiklie be the flesheris within the samyne, that all flesh might be removed from the croce in tyme therefter: Thairfor the saids baillieis and counsell hes appoyntit David Mitchell and Wm. Drysdaill to sound the said Wm. Adame, to sie whether or not he will sell the forsaid ground upon

ane reassonabill pryce to the magistrattis of this burghe for the vse above writtene, and thet they report their diligence theranent the next counsell day."

Besides the ordinary trouble experienced by the magistrates in suppressing the "middings," a new phase of the institution presents itself, threatening to convert the streets of the town into a general manufactory of manure :—

"11 *February* 1656.

"The said day the said baillieis and counsell, having taken to their consideration the great abuse that is used and practized within this burghe be severall of the inhabitants within the samyne, be casting and making up of muck middings in the streatis and passageis within this burghe, as also be casting down of strea upon the said streatis and wayis of this burghe to mak fulzie and muck of, qlk is altogether unkent, nawayes vsed nor practized in vther burghes within this natione: Thairfor, for preventing of the lyk in tyme coming, the saids bailleis and counsell have statut and ordanit that no persone nor persones within this burghe nor libertie therof presume nor tak upon thame to lay doun any muck middings, or cast doun strae for making of muck, upone any of the hie streatis, wayis, or passages of this burghe, to the vndecencie of strangeris or other persons repairing thairthrow, in no tyme hierefter; and that all suche persones as hes any middings of muck or strae castin doun in any of the hie streatis or passageis of this burghe, that they transport and remove the samyne within twentie-four hours efter intimatione hierof; and if any person or persons sall happene to contravene this present Act, the said baillieis and counsell hes ordanit thame to pay ane unlaw of £10 how oft and swa oft the samyne sall."

The following extracts are interesting, both as

furnishing a specimen of the manners of "Young Culross" in the middle of the seventeenth century, and as showing that glass had come by this time into common use for windows. It will be remembered that in the case of Bessie Bar's house, a substantial burgher's mansion in the end of the preceding century, the windows were provided only with "brods" and iron stanchions:—

"3 *March* 1656.

"The said day Johne Horne's sone, Wm. Midletoun, sone to Johne Midletoun, and James Penisone, sone to the deceist Penisone, cordiner, burger of Culrois, being conveanit befor the said bailleis and counsell for breking of the glaswindowes of those housis pertaining to Katharine Prestoun, spous to Robert Thompsone of Balbowgie, lyand in the Calsy gait of Culrois, and of the glaswindowis of vther housis within the said burghe, and efter the breking therof in taking of the lead therof away with thame; . . . and the said busines being taken to consideratione be the saids bailleis and counsell, they have found thame culpabill and guyltie of the forsaid fact: Thairfor they have unanimouslie ordanit that Johne Horne pay for his sone thrie punds Scottis, and that John Robiesone pay for his good-sone,[1] Ja. Penisone, 40s. And for William Midletoun, his mother and he, as also the parentis of the other two persons, ar ordanit to remayne in ward during the bailleis pleasure, by and attour the payment of the forsaid sowmes; and siklyk statutis and ordains that if any such falt sall be committed be thame or any of thame, or any other persone or persons within this burghe in any tyme heirefter, the committaris therof ar to be benyshed and removed furthe of this toun, and never to come therintill therefter; and that by and attour any

[1] Generally a son-in-law, but probably here a step-son.

pecuniall fyne may be exacted from the parentis at the bailleis their pleasure."

"10 *April* 1656.

"The said day Peter Prymrois, being convenit befor the counsell this day, and lykwayes his sone, for ane certaine wrong done and committit be him in breking of glaswindoes in the Abay and in the Earle of Kyncardine his Ile; qlk was ordanit to be remembered the next counsell day."

Though the case against Peter Primrose is brought up again on 28th April, it is again adjourned, and nothing further recorded of it. The "Abay" is doubtless the mansion erected by the first Lord Kinloss, and the "Ile" is the building attached to the church, which contains the monument of Sir George Bruce, the ancestor of the Kincardine family, and in the wall of which also was deposited the heart of the second Lord Edward Bruce of Kinloss.

Some curious entries relative to the prosecution of a witch are next presented :—

"23 *June* 1656.

"In presence of the said bailleis and counsell, compeared personallie Master Robert Edmonstoun, minister at Culrois, and declared the last weik befor the last wek, he being in Edinburgh anent the adhering to the call of Master Matthew Fleyming to the work of the ministrie of this congregatione, and having maid diligent tryall at the clerk of the criminall court and others what course might be taken with Elspethe Craiche, presentlie lying within the tolbuthe of Culrois as ane witche voluntarlie confesst be herself, he declared that except murder or malison could be provin against such persons, thair was no putting of thame to deathe; yet the said Maister Robert being most desyrous that one of the

foresaid number of the counsell sould goe over to Edinburgh, and tak over the said Elspethe her declaration and confessions, and to cause pen ane petitione in relatione therof, and the said mater being taken to consideratione, and being ryplie advysit therwith, the saids bailleis and counsell be pluralitie of voices have electit and chosen William Drysdaill to goe over to Edinburgh against Twysday come eight dayes, being the first day of July, being ane criminall court day, to present the supplication befor the judges there for granting of ane commission to put the said witche to the knowledge of ane assyse, and to report his diligence theranent."

"30 *June* 1656.

"The qlk day, in presence of the said bailleis and counsell, conforme to the commissione grantit to him the last counsell day anent the petitioning for ane commissione to put Elspethe Craiche, witche, to the knowledge of an assyse, maid report, that he being unsatisfied with the clerk of the criminall court his answer to him anent the procuring of the said commission, he therefter went to the right Honorable Generall George Monk; who having related to him the poore condition of this burghe, how that they war not abill to transport the said witche over to Edinburgh, and to be at the great expense that they behovit to be at in attending upone her there, the said Generall desyred the said William to draw up ane petitione, and present the samyne befor the counsell of estait upone Twysday next; who accordinglie drew up ane supplicatione at Alexr. Bruce his directione, and left the samyne with George Mitchell, to be written over be him; and becaus the said Wm. had brought over the said Elspethe her confessions, the samyne was appoyntit to be send over, to the effect bothe they and the supplication may be presentit befor the said counsell of estait against the morrow."

It would appear that the application of the Cul-

ross minister and magistrates had been ineffectual to procure any assistance from the Council of State in Edinburgh towards either getting Elspeth Craich tried and condemned in Culross, or transporting her for that purpose to Edinburgh. Cromwell's government was not favourable to religious persecution of any kind, whether as regards heresy or sorcery. The following entry is almost ludicrous, from the woe-begone demonstration made therein by the town council, who have no other resource left than to get rid of their expensive prisoner as speedily as possible. It is satisfactory to find that the poor woman had at least been tolerably well supplied with meat and drink, whatever other sufferings she may have undergone :—

"25 *August* 1656.

"The said day the saids bailleis and counsell, taking to consideratione the great trouble that hath been susteaned be the inhabitants of this burgh in watching of Eppie Craich, witch, within thaire tolbuthe this quarter of this year bygane, and the great expens that this burgh is at for the present in susteanyng and interteanyng her in bread and drink and vther necessaris, and finding it to be expedient to dismis hir furthe of the [torn away] upone her finding of cautione to present her to prissone whenever [torn away] sall be requyred, under the pane of 500 merkis: Thairfor, in presence [torn away] the said Elspethe Craiche . . . to be dismist . . . tolbuthe, and befor that tyme . . . to be presentit befor the kirk-sessione of Culrois." [The latter part of this entry is in a sadly dilapidated state in the minute-book.]

On 1st August 1656, a proclamation is entered in

the minute-book, issued in the name of "Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereto belonging, to the shireff of the sheriffdom of Striveling," for the election of a representative of the burghs of Linlithgow, Queensferry, Perth, Culrois, and Stirling, to sit in the Parliament to be assembled at Westminster on 17th September 1656. Cromwell is carrying out his idea of a union of the three kingdoms. During his government no Scottish Parliament seems to have sat.

The following entry is the earliest notice in these records of a matter which afterwards caused the burgh of Culross an immense amount of trouble and expense. The mill there referred to is what is still known as New Mill, and gives name to the adjoining village, in the parish of Torryburn, on the opposite side of the stream, which here separates the counties of Fife and Perth. I have already in the opening chapter described the locality. The claim thus made by the lairds of Blairhall of a right of thirlage over Culross, was stoutly but ineffectually resisted by the latter, which then endeavoured to make the best of the situation, by taking a feu-grant of the New Mill, and paying a yearly duty. But the undertaking proved equally unsuccessful, whether the mill was worked by the town for its own behoof or let out to a tacksman. Then an attempt was made to get rid of the burden by resigning the feu into the hands of the superior. This was also unsuccessful, and to a comparatively recent

period a right of thirlage was maintained by the proprietor of the New Mill over Culross.

"18 *August* 1656.

"The said day thair was presented befor the said bailleis and counsell, direct from Thomas Bruce of Blairhall, shewing that the new mylne belonging to him was neirest and best for serving of the said burgh, and that they war his thirleris this hundrethe and half yeir, and desyring them to hant and resort to his said mylne, with their whoill cornes insucken and outsucken, and to prosequite them at the law if they sould refuis; and the saidis bailleis and counsell, taking the mater to consideratione, they, upone good considerations, have continewed the giving of ane full answer to the foresaid letter till the bailleis and certaine of the counsell goe and commun with Blairhall about the bussines,—they ar to say, Alexander Bruce, Alexander Aitkene, and Wm. Hewisone, bailleis; Johne Sands and Wm. Drysdaill, counsellaris: and this is to be done with all convenient diligence."

The "brewsteris and taverneris" are called to account for their unkindness to strangers:—

"8 *September* 1656.

"The said day the saids bailleis and counsell, taking to consideration the great and manifest wrong that is done and committit be the brewsteris and taverneris within this burghe, in wanting of ane competent number of sufficient and weill-furnished beds within their houses for the use of strangeris when they come to this burgh, and of sufficient entertiainement for thaimselves and horses in victuallis and other necessaris necessarie and expedient to be had, contrair to the laudabill lawes of this natione, Actis of Parliament, and practiss of vther burghes, to the great prejudice of the liedges and inutilitie of the common wealthe of this

burghe: In consideratione wherof the saids bailleis and counsell statutis and ordines all the brewsters of this burgh to be cited in befor the counsell the next counsell day, to prescryve and sett down ordouris to them for thair usage and accommodating of strangeris in tyme comeing."

It appears, from a minute of 15th September prescribing rules to the above "taverners and brewsters," that there were then fourteen inns or public-houses in Culross.

An entry in the council minutes, dated 29th September 1656, gives an account of the settlement, by the heritors, town council, and kirk-session, of the stipends of the ministers. It appears from this that it had been determined from the first to equalise as far as possible the incomes of the two charges, the second charge having only then been recently constituted. This state of matters continues to the present day, the stipends enjoyed by the respective incumbents being as nearly as possible equal.

The magistrates again bestir themselves in looking after the innkeepers and stablers, and the providing of proper accommodation for travellers and their horses:—

"20 *October* 1656.

"The said day, in presence of the saids bailleis and counsell, compeared Donald Malloche, indweller in Culrois, who being interrogat be the said bailleis and counsell if he was willing to keep ane stabell and horse for accommodating of strangeris or inhabitants of this burghe when they had necessarlie ado with horse for going about their lawful effaires for reassonabill payment and satisfactione, he declared he was willing so to doe; who was desyred with

all convenient diligence to go about the doing therof: and therupone the said Donald gave his faithfull promise."

The following extract contains an account of an action brought to recover damages for non-fulfilment of a contract of service. It possesses considerable interest as showing the terms on which, in those days, a domestic servant was hired :—

"21 *November* 1656.

"The foresaid day, anent the claime persewed at the instance of Richard Bennet, baxter, burges of Culrois, and Bessie Huton, his spous, against Elspeth Mar, servitrix to William Dasoun, burges of the said burghe, makand mention that for about the space of eight weiks befor the term of Martinmas last the said persewars did conduce and hyre the said Elspethe Mar to be their hyred servand for the space of half ane yeir—to witt, from Martynmas last to the terme of Witsunday next come, in the yeir of God 1657 yeiris—and did condescend and agrie with her to pay the particular fie and bountethe respective efter named,—to witt, the soume of fyve pounds Scottis money of fie; item, thrie elne of hardine, pryce of the elne aught shillings Scottis; item, ane elne of lynning, twelf shillings; item, ane pair of shoes, pryce therof twentie-four shillings; item, ane old wylie coat,[1] pryce therof threttie shillings; item, ane groat Scottis, that the defender received in arles, extending the said particularis in the haill to the soume of nyne pounds fourtene shillings: and albeit it be of veritie that the said persewars hes oft and diverse tymes requyrit and desyrit the said defender to come home to her service, nevertheless she refuses without she be compellit, as the clame in the self beiris, the said Richard Bennet, persewar, compear- and personallie in judgment, and the said defender being lawfullie sumoned to have compeared this day be the

[1] Petticoat.

ordiner officers of this burghe, to have hard and sene decreit given and pronounced against her, and being oft and diverse tymes callit, and not compearand, lawful tyme of day abidden, the respective reassons and allegations of both the said parties being sene, red, hard, and considerit be the said bailleis, and they being weill and ryplie advysed theranent, hes declarit and ordanit the said Elspethe Mar, defender, to content and pay to the said persewar the forsaid soume of nyne pounds fourtene shillings Scottis money, promisit to her of fie and bountethe, in maner as is above exprest, as for the principal, with nyne shillings six pennies money forsaid of expens of pley; and ordains the said soumes to be payed within fyftene dayes, under the panes of poynding of hir movable guids and warding of hir persone therfor. Wherupon the said Richard Bennet, persewar, asked and tuk instruments and act of court."

The expression "ane groat Scottis" is plainly a slip for "ane groat sterling," as the sums previously mentioned amount to £9, 10s., and by adding 4d. sterling, or 4s. Scots, the total is arrived at of £9, 14s. Scots, or 16s. 2d. sterling of wages for the half-year from Martinmas to Whitsunday. If we estimate the value of money at the present day at a little more than three times what it was in 1656, we shall find that the average wages of a female servant in a burgh town in the seventeenth century were £2, 10s. for the half, or £5 for the whole year. Forty years ago this would have been regarded as about the market rate, though in more recent times, owing to the increased demand for labour, a great enhancement in wages has taken place.

Two mischievous lads are called to account for a trick played on a bailie's son :—

"15 *December* 1656.

"The said day thair being ane complent given in be the said William Pearsone, baillie, against George Drysdaill, wevar, his sone, and James Hendrie, prenteis to Robert Bill, tailzeor, for causing of the said baillie his sone fall aff his horse ryding to the water the last Sabothe-day except one, be stopping of flockes under the horse taill, and than throw causing him fling and cast the barne aff his bak; qlk being considerit upone be the said bailleis and counsell, they did determine to threatten the said Robert Bill his prenteis, being present, and if any suche fault war done and committit in tyme comeing be him or be any otheris in any tyme coming, the said bailleis and counsell ordainis them to pay ane unlaw of fyve punds, and the parent or master to be comptabill therefor."

On 2d January 1657, the cadgers are summoned for not supplying the town with fish, and are ordered, every two of them, to bring weekly in turn two loads to the market of Culross. In the autumn of the same year there are many discussions in the town council regarding the contemplated establishment of a guildry in the burgh. It may not be inexpedient to inform my readers that the guildry, as existing in Scottish burghs, is an association of the merchants or trading portion of the community, as distinguished from the craftsmen or followers of manual avocations, who ranged themselves respectively under the different corporations of smiths, weavers, tailors, and others. It takes cognisance of all matters relating to trade and commerce, to the maintenance of burgh privileges as regards exports and imports, to weights and measures, and also to

the erection and stability of houses and buildings. The last-named department is now perhaps, more than any other, regarded as the special prerogative of the Dean of Guild and his court. The institution of a guildry was regarded in Culross, and probably also in other burghs, with great jealousy by the members of the corporations, who in the present instance were actively supported by the town council. A very bitter contest ensued, but in the end the merchants were triumphant. The guildries became frequently rich and powerful bodies, and the privileges of the guild-brethren, being transmissible to their descendants, are often a valuable inheritance. The final establishment of the Culross guildry dates from the year 1659, and its records are preserved in a special volume. A full account of the struggle between the merchants and the craftsmen which preceded the final establishment of the guildry, is contained in the town council minutes; but being both very prolix and devoid of general interest, I have not deemed it necessary to quote any extracts.

On 19th and 26th October 1657, a somewhat high-handed procedure is recorded of Cromwell's government in sending through the Scottish Council of State an order to the burgh of Culross to dismiss certain members of the town council, on the ground of their having been concerned in a Royalist rising in the Highlands, and otherwise setting at naught the authority of the Commonwealth. The Culross magistracy kiss the rod with great meekness, dismiss the offending members, and elect others in their places.

In consequence of the riding of the marches, some encroachments on the common or burgh moor are reported and checked. The maintenance of this annual procession was a very effectual prevention of such appropriations.

"(*Monday*) 31 *May* 1658.

"The quhilk day the merches of this burghe being ridden be David Mitchell, ane of the present bailleis of this burghe, and ane competent number of burgesses within the samyne, and the samyne being syghted be Wm. Broun, elder of Gagie, Jon. Broun of Barhill, and certain other persones having good skill of the merches belonging to this burghe and libertie therof, thair was found that those persons that possest the lands of Kirktoun had taken in ane certane quantitie of the commoun mure of Culrois, as also the Noruwalls had lykwayes done the lyk: Wherfor the said baillie causit infix merche stones upon those partis the saids persons had taken in, to be appropriat to the tounes use."

"7 *June* 1658.

"*James Scotland and Jeane Erskine ordainit to remayne in ward till cautione be found be them for bigging up of the east port in alse guid condition as it was.*

"The qlk day James Scotland, salter in Culrois, and Jeane Erskine, indweller there, being convenit befor the saids bailleis and counsell for answering for the wrongs that they had done for taking of certane tymber from the east poort: and the said James being interrogatt what timber he had taken from the said port, he frielie confest fyve peices of daillis, qlk he had in his custodie; as also the said Jeane Erskine confest the having of ane piece trie. And they being removeit furthe of counsell, the saids bailleis and counsell, having considered upon the said busines, they have found thame and ayther of thame culpabill of

ane wrong; thairfor they have ordanit that the said persons remayne in ward till they find cautione to big up the port in alse good caise as it was of befor."

In this depredation on the east port, other persons besides Erskine and Scotland were concerned, and they were all condemned in "unlaws" or fines of various amounts. In addition to the "daillis" or timber-work, special mention is made of "two bands of irone upon the leaff of the eist port," which one of the witnesses testifies to having seen James Scotland carry away. No further mention of the fabric appears in the burgh records, and the probability is, that having been totally or nearly demolished by the depredators above mentioned, it was never again rebuilt, and the fines levied from them were applied to the "common good" of the town. It is evident from the minutes in question that Culross in former days owned at its eastern extremity a veritable gate or port, which it is not unlikely was situated near the present "Endowment," at the commencement of the low or shore road leading from the west end of the village of Low Valleyfield to Newmill Bridge. But all traces of the structure have now completely disappeared, and no tradition of any kind regarding it has come down to the present time. The west port of Culross is occasionally spoken of in the burgh minutes, and it was also probably guarded by a gate or barrier. And I consider it extremely likely that the northern approach to the town was secured by a port at the so-called Chapel barn, at the point where the road meets

the old highway leading to the West Kirk and Kincardine.

The letters-out of horses on hire—or as they used to be more compendiously styled in Scotland, "hirers"—are called to account for exorbitant charging. Some interesting information on this subject is here furnished:—

"15 *May* 1659.

"The quhilk day the saids bailleis and counsell taking to thair serious consideratione the great wrong that hes bene done and committit be suche persones that hes had their horses to hyre to persones that had jurneyes to mak, in exacting and craving of thame hier and greater pryces nor is taken in other parts within this natione where the lyk is used: In consideratione wherof, and for preventing of such practices in tyme comeing, the saids bailleis and counsell, efter mature deliberatione, have statut and ordanit that no persone nor persones within this burghe, nor libertie thereof, presume nor tak upone hand to crave nor exact more from any persone or persones who sall tak their horse in hyring nor 2s. Scottis[1] of the myle fordwards, and 12d. Scottis bakwards. And who sall do in the contrair herof, the samyne being complened upon, it is hereby ordanit that they sall be lyabill in such ane censure and fyne as the magistrattis and counsell for the tyme sall think fit."

[1] Twopence sterling.

CHAPTER XI.

THE BURGH RECORDS FROM 1659 TO 1665.

CHANGES are approaching: "coming events cast their shadows before," and the manœuvres of General Monk for the restoration of Charles II. begin to show themselves:—

"14 *November* 1659.

"The said day there being ane letter, direct from General George Monck to the burgh of Burntisland, and communicat be thame to this burgh, presentit befor the saids bailleis and counsell, shewing that his lordship did desyre this burgh to agrie amongst thameselves to send over such persone as they sould think fitt to choose from this burgh, and the rest of the burghes in Scotland, to meit with his lordship at Edinburgh the fyftene day of November, because he had ane great occasion to speak with thame about some affaires that concerne the country at that tyme; qlk being read and dewlie considered upone be the saids bailleis and counsell, they judged it meit and expedient that one of their number sould be send over as commissioner to my Lord Generall. Thairfor they did mak, nominat, and constitut John Burnsyde, baillie, thair commissioner; gevand to him thair full power and commissione to conveane with my Lord Generall George Monck at Edinburgh the

fyftene day of November instant, and thair to confer and conclude with his lordship in effeiris concernyng the weill of this country, and to do everie other lawful thing thairanent qlk they might doe thameselves if they war present."

A minute of 27th December 1659 details what Drummond in his macaronic Latin would style a "fechta terribilis—fechta bloodæa," between a man of Torryburn and a man of Culross, "upone the heigh streitis of this burghe, nar by the hospitall hous therof." It seems, indeed, to have been rather a serious fight or "blood," though neither loss of life nor permanent disablement was sustained. The narrative is very tedious, and too long for transcription.

The following extract is interesting, both as a specimen of the criminal procedure of the day, and also from its allusions to various localities in old Culross :—

> "The Court of Justice holdin within the tolbuth of the burgh of Culrois, be Johne Burnsyde and Johne Broun, Justices of Peace within the said burghe, upon the second day of January 1660 years.

"The quhilk day Issobell Baillie, and Margaret Baillie her dochter, in the parochin of , being presentit befor the judgement, and their dittay read, mentioning that they upon Thursday last, betwixt eleven and twelf houris in the forenoone, war found stealing and taking away ane pair of holland cloth sheits furthe of ane of the chalmers of the Earle of Kincardin his dwelling-place, and wherin they were takin in the verie fang, qlk was clearlie provin be Eister Shaw, Margaret Gib, and Barbara Johnstoun,

servands to my Lord Cardros, who apprehendit the forsaids theives therewith, and qlk they could not deny; and the forsaid justices of peace having dewlie considerit upone the forsaid theft proven in maner forsaid, they, according to the power put upone thame as Justices of Peace within the said burgh, they did condemne the forsaid two theives to be scurged from the croce to the Laird of Balbougie's yett, and from thence to the Stryne, and from thence to the Earle of Kincardin's place, and from thence to Thomas Ezat hous at the west end of the toun, and that the hangman give ilk ane of the saids theives thrie strypes upon their naked bak at ilk ane of the places respective forsaid, and therefter to be banished the toun, and never to be found therefter therintill under the perrell of their lyves."

The above seems to demonstrate pretty conclusively that at this period the residence of the Earl of Kincardine was then the house in the Sand Haven of Culross, built by his grandfather, Sir George Bruce of Carnock. Sir George built two houses there, adjoining each other; but which of them was the one actually occupied by his grandson, cannot with certainty be learned. As the Earl's sister, Mary Bruce, had been married a few years before, in 1655, to David, second Lord Cardross, as his second wife, it is not at all unlikely, from the circumstance of their servants having witnessed the theft just detailed, that they were then occupying the other house. The Laird of Balbougie had probably a house somewhere about the foot of the Little Causeway, and his "yett" formed the first stage on the penal march of the culprits, with the hangman and his whip at their heels. From

this, proceeding eastwards, another short stage was accomplished at the "Stryne," the rivulet which flows down from the higher grounds to the sea, and crosses in its course the principal or Laigh Causeway of Culross. Here the criminals are faced about, after receiving a third application of the whip, and marched westwards as far as Lord Kincardine's house, afterwards known as "the Colonel's Close," and in recent times by the absurd designation of "the Palace." Having now finished their third stage, a much longer one than either of the preceding, they receive, it may be presumed, at the scene of their delinquency, a specially severe reminder of it, and are then finally conducted to the west end of the town, where they are discharged and expelled from the burgh. The brutalising practice of flogging criminals—men and women—through the public streets, continued in vogue throughout this country to a period within the memory of persons still living.

The town of Culross concurs in the general movement to welcome back Charles II. Cromwell's rough-and-ready manners, his disregard of national prejudices and feelings, and the weak and divided Government of his successors, had rendered the country thoroughly disgusted with the Commonwealth men, and disposed to hail with acclamation the restoration of their ancient line of monarchs. It was only, however, escaping from the frying-pan into the fire.

"18 *May* 1660.

"The said day, in obedience of ane letter sent from the correspondents appoyntit be the burrowes to the bailleis

and counsell of this burghe, signifeing that they conceaved it ane dewty lying upon thame that, seing it hath pleased God to put it in the heart of the Parliament of England so unanimously to call home our lawful King, to the rejoysing of the hearts and reveiving of the spirits of all his loyall subjects in this kingdome, and that they had sent commissioneris to his Majestie to Breda for attending him in his returne to his right and possessione, of which he had bene so long deprived, and this natione depressed under insupportabill burdings; and that it was necessar for the burrowes to have ane meiting, which they appoyntit to be at Edinburgh upone the 29 of May instant, for taking of consideration what was their dewtie at suche ane joytour of tyme in all the precious interests of Kirk and Kingdome, and particularlie of the estait of burrowes that was so neirly concerned; and therfor requyring this burghe to send thair commissioner sufficientlie instructed for keiping the meiting the said day, and withall to send with him their proportione of ane thousand pund sterling, for advancing the interest of the estait of burrowes. Efter the reading and dew consideratione of the qlk letter, and in obedience therunto for purchasing of the forsaid proportione of the soume of money above exprest, the saids bailleis and counsell appoyntit and ordanit that ane monthe and ane halfs asses sould be collectit presentlie be the present collectoris from the persones lyabill in asses within this burghe for payment therof, and the commissioner that is to be sent to the said conventione his charges."

The ancient glories of the marches day are revived, and the ceremony of riding the burgh boundaries ordered to be celebrated with additional *éclat*:—

"28 *May* 1660.

"The quhilk day the said bailleis and counsell, taking to consideratione how that in former tymes, upon that day when the magistrates and counsell did ryd the merches, it

was ane vse and custome that the culloris of this burghe was careit furthe of this burghe to the Kirktoun be the captane-ensingne appoyntit for that effect; as also ane number of musqueteris went lykwayes ther for gairding therof, and for attending the saids magistratis their incomeing from visiting the marches and for convoying them in to this burghe, in such decent and comelie ordour as becomethe; and that the said exercise and pastyme have been obstructed aud hindered thir many yearis bygane be the Ingleishe power that have bene ruling in this land; and now, seing it hathe pleased the Lord in his infinite mercie to tak away the former power that hath bene amongst , and to restoir our gratious King to his former rights and liberties, which he hes bene keiped from thir many yearis bygane: Thairfor, and consideratione of the premisses, the saids bailleis and counsell, for the better accomplishing and goeing about the said exercise, they have appoyntit and ordanit the said Johne Burnsyd to buy ane pair of good and sufficient culloris for the use of the said burghe, in regairde the former cullors is torne and unusefull; and that the samyne be ready against Witsonday Monday next, being the ellevent of June next to come.

"Lykas, for the moir comelie and decent careing about the said exercise and pastyme, the saids bailleis and counsell have thought it fitt and expedient that thair sould be ane captane, levetenant, and ensigne chosen for that effect: Thairfor they, be pluralitie of voices, did elect, nominat, and choose thir persones following to be officers the forsaid day—to witt, William Pearsone, captane; Johne Miller, levetennent; and David Mitchell, younger, merchand, ensigne."

"4 *June* 1660.

"The quhilk day the saids bailleis and counsell, for certane good respects and considerations moveing thame, and conforme to former practise and ordour observit within this burghe, have statut and ordanit that all fewars and free-

holderis within this burghe and libertie therof compear in the Sandie Heavin upon Monday next, in the mornyng, in their best apparell, and suche convenient armour as they can atteane to, for accompanyng the magistrats and counsell to the mure for visiting the merches, and bak agane to this burghe, in such decent ordour as becomethe; and that they and ilk ane of them answer to their names bothe in the Sandie Heavin and at the Kirktoun, as they sall be called upone under the pane of £10 Scottis money unforgiven."

A Parliament is summoned, and on 5th November 1660 "thair was produced befor the saids bailleis and counsell ane proclamatione, intituled, The King's Majestei's Proclamatione for calling of his Parliament in Scotland; and efter the reading therof, the samyne was ordanit to be published at the mercat croce of the burghe this day."

Of the two names of Lauderdale and Primrose appended to the above proclamation, as inserted *in extenso* in the council minute-book, the former was destined to become notorious as that of the President of the Scottish Privy Council, and Charles's arbitrary minister in carrying out the merciless severities against the Covenanters and recusant Presbyterians, by which it was hoped to crush and terrify the people of Scotland into abject submission to royal authority. The other was Sir Archibald Primrose of Carrington, Clerk-Register. He was the grandson of Archibald Primrose of Burnbrae, near Kincardine, and was closely connected with Culross, his aunt Margaret being married to the great Sir George Bruce of Carnock. It was he who applied to the English Government to have the records of

Scotland returned which had been carried off by Cromwell. The Earl of Clarendon, then at the head of affairs, was apprehensive that the original Solemn League and Covenant, signed by the King, was among these; and therefore, to look for it, he unpacked the casks in which the papers had been stored for the purpose of being conveyed to Scotland. This he insisted on doing notwithstanding an engagement on the part of Primrose that he would search carefully for the obnoxious document on the arrival of the consignment, and send it up to London by a special messenger. So much delay in consequence took place that the records were not sent away till winter, and the ship conveying them went down off Berwick. Only a small portion was recovered; and this, after being deposited nearly a hundred years in a vault beneath the Parliament House in Edinburgh, was at last catalogued and printed.

Sir Archibald's sister was the wife of the famous George Heriot of hospital celebrity; and he himself, after being taken prisoner at the battle of Philiphaugh, and narrowly escaping, through the interposition of the Marquis of Argyll, death on a sentence of high treason, was in 1651 created a baronet by Charles II., became subsequently Lord-Register, and in 1661 a Lord of Session, with the title of Lord Carrington. Lord Carrington's only son by a second marriage, Archibald Primrose of Dalmeny, succeeded him ultimately in the baronetcy on the demise successively of an elder brother and nephews; and having first, in 1700, been made Viscount Rosebery and

Lord Primrose of Dalmeny, he received, in 1703, a higher rank in being created first Earl of Rosebery.

The magistrates make ordinance for maintaining their dignity and order of precedence in public :—

"12 *November* 1660.

"The said day the saids bailleis and counsell, taking to consideratione how requisite and necessarie it war that ordour and decencie war keiped be those persons that ar to accompany the magistrates of this burghe the tyme they ar goeing throw the mercat upon the fair dayes in tyme coming, and for preventing confusion in tyme coming, they have statut and ordanit that efter the rank of the bailleis for the tyme, the deane of gild, with the old bailleis to succeid them, together with the thesaurer, and they of the merchand rank to succeid them.

"The deacone of the smythes, with his associatis, next; thairefter the deacone of the weveris, with their associattis; then the deacone of the tailzeoris, with his associattis; the cordinaris to succeid, and the rest of the craftis in ordour: and that tuo officeris, with thair halberts, goe befor thame the tyme of the goeing throw the said mercat during the tyme of the fair."

The town piper is appointed :—

"The said day, in presence of the said bailleis and counsell, compeared personallie John Horne; and there the said Johne most willinglie and frelie offered his service to the town in going throw the town playing upon his pype, alse weill at nycht as in the mornyng, everie nycht and everie mornyng, as is accustomat to be done in other burghes, and acted himself nawayes to divert himself therfra, healthe of bodie permitting, and except other lawful occasions impedit the samyne; for the qlk service he is to receave his shear of the yule wages, and his hous maill to be payed to him be

the toun yearlie during his service, and that by and attour any othir thing he may wynn at banquettis or brydells within this burghe in tyme coming."

On 8th December 1660, Alexander Bruce of Broomhall, grandson of Sir George Bruce of Carnock, is chosen commissioner to the Scottish Parliament from the burgh of Culross, in room of Bailie William Pearson, who had three days previously been elected commissioner for Culross both to the Parliament and Convention of Burghs, but now demits the former of these appointments. After the lapse of nearly half a century from this period, Sir Alexander became fourth Earl of Kincardine, having succeeded in establishing his right to the peerage in opposition to the claims of his cousin, Lady Mary Cochrane. He was direct ancestor of the present Earl of Elgin and Kincardine.

A female thief is convicted and banished :—

"29 *January* 1661.

"The quhilk day, in presence of William Hewisone, William Pearsone, and James Gourlay, bailleis of the said burgh of Culrois, compeared personallie Grissell Powie, spous to Robert Buchanane, indweller in Culrois, who, being conveaned befor thame, and accused for the crymes of pykerie and theft committit be the said Grissell within the said burghe of Culrois, especiallie for stealing and taking away of eight elnes of lynning and ane spule of yearne furthe of Margaret Wilson, coalbearer, her hous, and hyding the samyne in ane midding befor the said Grissell her doore; qlk being considerit be the forsaid bailleis, they have found her culpabill and guiltie of the forsaid cryme of pykrie and theft, and therfor hes fyled and convict her therintill, and

ordanes her to be banished furthe of this burghe, and never to come within the samyne agane under the pane of drouning."

The burgh streets are ordered to be causewayed. It is curious to contrast the complacent and authoritative manner in which the magistrates of the day order the work to be commenced, with the difficulty which has been recently experienced in getting the same causeway relaid :—

"18 *February* 1661.

"The said day the said bailleis and counsell, taking to consideratione how requisit and necessar it war that ane calsay war laid and maid within severall partis of this burghe, to the greater decoring therof and for the better effectuatting of the said wark, they have statut and ordanit that all suche persones that hes horses, therintill yock the samyne to work for leading of stanes to the said work; and that these in the west quarter give ane dayes yocking of their horses, first for leading of the said stanes, and efter they ar led, to lay them at the west end of the town where the calsay is to be laid; and the rest in the severall other quarteris to follow, with their dayes yocking of their horses for the cause aforsaid: with certification if they or any of thame failzie to yok their horses efter they ar lawfullie warnit for doeing therof, the single hors to pay ane unlaw of 20s. Scottis, and the double hors to pay the double therof; and ordains thame to be poyndit therfor. And for the better attending of the said work, the said bailleis and counsell appoynts and ordanes Patrick Sands, girdlesmythe, and Johne Halliday, to be oversearis therof at the west end of the town."

The same day an Act of Parliament is promulgated against "mess preistis and trafficking papists."

The "baxters" are giving the town a great deal of trouble by their contumacious procedure. The magistrates endeavour to foil them by importing bakers from Linlithgow. On 13th May 1661 a commission is nominated to proceed thither and see if any bakers could be induced to transfer themselves from thence to Culross.

The following entry, dated 13th May 1661, seems to indicate that the Government had in contemplation at this time to form a militia or *Landwehr* throughout the country. The riding of the burgh marches had always been essentially a military display, and it was now determined that it should more than ever exhibit the character of the *wappenschaw* or weapon-show. Such gatherings as are described in 'Old Mortality' must, as far as the burghs were concerned, have generally been held on the marches day:—

"The said day the saids bailleis and counsell, taking to consideratione that in regard the whole kingdome was presentlie to be put in ane poustes[1] of militia, and that the ordinarie wappenschauing day of this burghe was now approtching, being upone Monday next, and that it war requisite and necessar that the whole burgesses and inhabitants of this burgh that ar abill to carie armes be sufficientlie provydit thairwith against the said day and in tyme comeing: Thairfor the saids bailleis and counsell, upone dew consideratione, have statut and ordanit that the burgesses and inhabitants aforsaid be sufficientlie provydit with

[1] Power or capability, from the Latin *potestas*. It is generally written *pousté*. To be in *lege pousté*—*i.e.*, *legitima potestate*—is a Scottish legal phrase to denote a person's being in full legal capacity to act.

armour, such as musquettis, snap warks, picks, and swords, against Witsonmonday next, being the ordinarie wappinschauing day, for accompaneing the magistratis, capitane, and other officiaris thairwith furth of this burgh and bak againe, in such decent maner as becomethe, and as hathe bene practized in former tymes upon such ane day; and that they and all of thame answer to their names and persons themselves, sufficientlie provydit with armes, as said is: with certification to the forsaid persons, if they or any of thame sall happene to contravene this present Act, that suche persons sall incur ane unlaw of ten punds Scottis unforgiven; and that informatione be maid heirof this day be took of drum.

"The said day the saids bailleis and counsell, be pluralitie of voices, did elect, nominat, and choose John Miller capitane, to goe upon the head of the burgesses within the said burgh upon Witsonmonday next; lykas they did elect David Mitchell his livetenant."

It will be remembered that during the Commonwealth a post had been established between Culross and Edinburgh; but to judge from an entry of 17th June, the movement had not been a successful one, and a new appointment is made of that date.

Certain burgesses are summoned for refusing to assist the magistrates in mastering some refractory Valleyfield colliers:—

"20 *June* 1661.

"The quhilk day Robert Huntar, Andrew Craiche, James Tailzeor, and Johne Mastertoun, tailzeor, being all of thame convenit befor the saids bailleis and counsell for the great contempt used towards the magistratis of this burghe in refusing to concur and assist them against the coalzearis the said night that war incarcerat within the tolbuthe of this burghe, off whom the bailleis and certane of the coun-

sell had receaved great wrong and violence within the said prissone hous throw want of their help and concurrance; and the said bailleis and counsell having considerit upone the said bussines, they have found all the forsaid persons culpabill and guiltie of ane hie and notorious wrong: Thairfor they have suspendit them, and ilk ane of them, from exercising their offices of burgesses till they supplicat the bailleis and counsell of new againe, and ordains Rot. Huntar and Johne Mastertoun to remayne in ward till the morrow, but liberats Andrew Craiche and James Tailzeor furthe therof in regard they war there all the last night."

The colliers themselves receive sentence for their violence in fine and imprisonment on 25th June following.

On 1st July 1661 occurs the following entry, which, short as it is, may be said to shadow forth the troubles which, for a long period of years now to come, were to beset the people of Scotland in connection with the re-establishment of Episcopacy:—

"The said day, in presence of the saids bailleis and counsell, there was ane proclamatione produced befor thame concernyng the setlement of the Kirk of Scotland; qlk being read in judgment, the samyne, immediatlie efter the dissolving of the counsell, was published at the mercat croce of this burghe in ane most decent and solemn maner as becomethe."

A tax is imposed by the burgh authorities on foreign wines and liquors. At this period Culross enjoyed the dignity of being presided over by a "lord provost," the office being held by Alexander

Bruce, heir-presumptive to the earldom of Kincardine. A notice also appears about this time of a gift to the town of Culross by Sir William Bruce of Balcaskie, younger brother of Thomas Bruce of Blairhall, and brother-in-law to Sir Alexander Bruce of Broomhall. He had been very active in promoting the Restoration, and had, in consequence, been rewarded by an appointment to the lucrative office of Clerk of the Bills. Sir William Bruce was the most distinguished architect of his time, and designed the greater part of the present structure of Holyrood House, after the original building had been destroyed by fire. Besides Balcaskie, he acquired from the Earl of Morton the estate of Kinross; and here he built on the banks of Loch Leven a splendid mansion, which still remains. I have little doubt that he was also employed by his kinsman Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine, in designing for Culross Abbey a third storey, which was added in 1670, and also in laying out the gardens with their pavilions and terraces. His gift to Culross is of a peculiar and official kind, and is designed as "the wholl benefits and pryces that sall happen at any tyme after the dait heirof to be due to me as Clerk to the Bills, for passing of all and whatsomever bills of advocatione, lowsings of arreystment, and suspensions of whatsomever nature or quality, whether foundit upon debts or lawborrowes,[1] or otherwise with the acts of cautione following therupon."

[1] This is a term of old Scotch law not yet obsolete, denoting an engagement by which an individual comes under an obligation that he

A minute of 30th September 1661 shows the state of matters which the Government of the day were striving to introduce, so as to crush the national liberties. A proclamation of the Lords of the Privy Council is read, in which they

"Inhibit and discharge the electing of any person to be magistrate or counsellor within burgh bot suche as ar of knowene loyaltie and affectione to his Majestie's government, qualified as is exprest in the last Acts of Parliament, and order made for that effect; and in their carriage concerning the said lait troubles, hes given no evidence to the contrair: with certificatione that if any election shall be otherwise made, the said election shall be declared voyd, and the persons elected and those who shall elect them shall be censured with all rigour as persons disaffected to his Majestie's government. And ordains this present to be furthwith published at the mercat croce of all the royall burghs of this kingdom, that none pretend ignorance of the same. Extract. *Sic subtr.* PAT. WEDDERBURN."

The old grudge against the guildry on the part of the town council is revived, and loyal principles are put forward as a pretext for annulling an institution which had been established in the days of the Commonwealth. This order is, however, afterwards re-

will do no harm to the person or property of another. When any one can produce good grounds for believing that another man designs him an injury, he is entitled to obtain from such an obligation, with sufficient security, that he will refrain from prosecuting his evil intention. In itself this provision is calculated to afford a salutary protection to the lieges, but it was most iniquitously perverted by Lauderdale to an engine of intolerable tyranny when he caused writs of lawburrows to be issued by Charles II. against his Scottish subjects, the recusant Presbyterians, as though he stood in danger from their projects.

scinded. From the expressions used on this occasion, it is pretty evident that one of the principal causes which contributed to the eager feeling in Scotland for the restoration of Charles II. was the circumstance of Cromwell having overridden so roughly all the national prejudices in enforcing English customs and laws, and thereby, in the estimation of the Scotch, degraded their country into an English province.

The following entry, dated 25th November 1661, records the construction of the well in the Laigh Causeway of Culross, now known as "Baby Sands,' or, more briefly, "Baby's Well":—

"The samyne day the saids bailleis and counsell, for consideratione of the digging doun of the well be James Sands, tailyeor, within his owne bounds, it was ordered by thame that the nychbouris dwelling at the east end of Culrois that ar accustomat to gett water furthe therof for the use of thair housholdis, help and contribut for making of the well fermeabill in tyme comeing, for preventing of danger that might happen to young bairns living near by the samyne."

The town council of Culross extends active sympathy to the burgh of Linlithgow in the protestation of the latter against the proposed erection of Borrowstounness into a royal burgh. Alexander Bruce of Broomhall is sent by the town with instructions on this subject to the Convention of Royal Burghs at Edinburgh.

Sir George Preston of Valleyfield complains to the Culross magistrates of the clandestine sale by his colliers of coals to the inhabitants of Culross, and

undertakes, if this is put a stop to, to serve the town duly with coals, and refrain from any future augmentation of price.

Elspeth Craich, the witch, who had formerly been imprisoned in the time of the Commonwealth, and liberated, as formerly related, is again apprehended:

"17 *March* 1662.

"The said day the wholle counsale hes unanimouslie voyced that Baillie Gourlay, and two counsellors with him, go and bring in to the prison Elspethe Craiche, who wes formerlie apprehendit and imprisoned for witchcraft, that she may be examined and putt to a tryall giff she will stand and adhere to her former confession of witchcraft; and immediatlie after she is brought to prison, the councile ordaynes two honest men to be warned to come and watch her day and night, that she do no evill to herselfe—ilk persone that shall be warned and refuse to come to the watche under the payn of 12s. Scots."

A tax of twopence Scots, or a sixth of a penny sterling, is imposed of the same date on "ilk pynt of ale and beere that shall happen to be mashed, brewed, ventit, and sold within this burgh and libertie therof in tyme comeing."

A race is intimated for Whitmonday. Such an announcement—more especially of a race of such a description—would hardly have been made in the days of Presbyterian or Puritan ascendancy:—

"5 *May* 1662.

"The said day the drum is appoyntit to be send throw the toun upon Fryday next, to intimat that upon Whitson Monday next thair is a pair of stockings to be run for in

the common mure by men, and a pair of bodies and sleeves of red freis to be run for by women."

A young lad is, on 30th June, convicted for pilfering fruit from "my Lord Kinloss his orchard." This was another designation for the Earl of Elgin, who must accordingly have been at this time proprietor of Culross Abbey and the adjoining orchard. Thomas, first Earl of Elgin, and third Lord Bruce of Kinloss, was then still living, but died about eighteen months afterwards, in December 1663. The greater part of his life seems to have been spent in England, and little connection kept up with his native country, —a severance which was rendered still more complete by his having married successively two English ladies, and become himself an English peer, with the title of Baron Bruce of Whorlton, in the county of York. His son Robert, second Earl of Elgin, became still more English in his connections, having been created Baron Bruce of Skelton in the county of York, Viscount Bruce of Ampthill in Bedfordshire, and Earl of Ailesbury in Buckinghamshire. These circumstances appear to have led to the disposal of Culross Abbey and its appurtenances — a transfer which was probably made, upon the first Lord Elgin's death, in favour of Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine, whom we find occupying the Abbey and making extensive additions to it very shortly after this period.

An edict is issued against "playing at the bulletts." The "playfield" there mentioned is the field on the slope immediately to the west of the Bal-

gounie stables. I have elsewhere given my views as to the origin of the name :—

"The said day it is statute and ordayned that the drum be send throw the toune this day afternoone, to discharge all playing at the bulletts in the hie way foranent the playfield at any tyme comeing, under the payne of fyve punds to be incurrit be ilk transgressor."

Troubles, both civil and religious, which were to afflict the country for many a year to come, are foreshadowed in the following extract. Episcopacy has now been re-established :—

"16 *Octr.* 1662.

"The said day, continewis the proclamatione of the Act of Secret Council made at Glasgow, 1st October instant, anent the ministers, untill first the magistrates and council of this burgh be fully and clearly setled, and that the Act of Parliament concerning the declaratione to be signed by all persones in public trust, made at Edinburgh, 5 Septr. 1662, be first subt."

On 1st November the burgh takes the New Mill in feu from the Laird of Blairhall, at the yearly duty of 1000 merks Scots, and 500 merks of entry.

A minute of 10th November records the following strange

"*Deposition, Johne Fynniesone anent Archibald Buchanan his cursing.*

"The said day John Finnysone, burges of this burgh, upon his great oathe deponed that upon Fryday last, the 7 of Novr. instant, the baillies and visitors of the fleshe mercat perceaving a blawine mutton boulk at the mercat

croce belonging to William Patoun, flesher, they causit the officer take the samein away, to be send to the hospitall; and that immediatlie therefter, as the baillies and visitors were going down the little calsey the lenthe of John Dalgleishe, elder, his flesher boothe, the deponent saw Archibald Buchanan louse, running in a fury and to the place where the blauin mutton wes lyand, and saw that the mutton wes away, he cryed out, 'The divell blaw them all in the air.'

"The said day Thomas Finlay and David Scotland and the drummer ar ordayned to be warned in agayn the next councill day, as also the said Archibald Buchanan, to be farder examined upon the words above deponed against him."

We are not favoured with any further details in this case. The reader will not fail to notice the charitable act of the magistrates in ordering the fly-blown carcass of mutton, which they deemed unfit for ordinary burgess consumption, to be taken to the "hospitall" (Lord Bruce's Hospital most probably) for the use of the inmates. One recalls to mind Sir Walter Scott's bridge-warder in the 'Monastery,' ordering his wife to keep for the next pilgrim the "ill-baked bannock that the bairns couldna eat;" and also Gibbie Girder's injunction to his household in the 'Bride of Lammermoor,' to distribute to the puir folk "onything that's totally uneatable." When butcher-meat nowadays is condemned and seized in the public market as unfit for human food, an order is not infrequently made for its being taken to the Zoological Gardens. Our ancestors devoted such treasure-trove to more exalted uses.

An unacceptable visitor to the town is ordered to be dismissed :—

"28 *Decr.* 1663.

"The said day Rot. Bade, cordiner, is ordayned to eject and cast out of his hous that uncouth vagabound stranger qlk he has sheltered and harboured thir divers days and nights bygane without any testimoniall, and that it be done this same night, under the payn of the unlay conteinit in the Act of council made against the resetting of such persones; qlk the said Robert engadged himself to the counsale to do."

About this time a great commotion is excited in Culross by the project of Sir George Preston and his son William to have the estate of Valleyfield immediately adjoining, with its village, erected into a burgh of barony. It is resolved to resist the attempt, as fraught with imminent danger to the privileges and prosperity of the burgh—apprehensions which, as regards at least the monopoly of girdle-making enjoyed by the Culross hammermen, turned out to be only too well founded :—

"14 *Jany.* 1664.

"The said day the mutuall agreement amongst the wholle inhabitants of this burghe and libertie therof anent the burgh of barony of Valeyfield wes judiciallie subscryvit be the wholle magistrates and counsellors that wer present, and be the wholle inhabitants who wer present, and ordayned to be subscryvit be the wholle remanent inhabitants as occasione shall offer."

The above is registered at full length in the minute-book, and signed by 107 persons, including

the magistrates and town council. These comprised probably all the householders who at this time were capable of writing their names. Many of the signatures are very beautiful. The subscribers engage themselves—

"Us and ilk ane of us, our wyffes, bairnis, and servands, in all tyme comeing after the daite heirof, neither to buy anything that shall be to be sold at any of the above written frie faires or weekly mercats;[1] and that we nor our foresaids shall never at any tyme heirafter take, carry, or convey anything whatsumever to be sold at the said faires or weekly mercats; neither that wee nor our forsaids shall buy anything that is made or shall be made by any artificer within the saids bounds, nor that we shall not imploy any of them for making of any sort of manufactures or handy works: under the payn of fourty pounds Scots money for ilk failzie being lawfully proven."

Such is a specimen of seventeenth-century "boycotting,"—of a rather more justifiable kind, it must be allowed, than we have been recently made familiar with on the part of certain natives of the Green Island. One cannot help suspecting that some greedy Government officials of the day had been active, for the sake of the fees and perquisites involved, in promoting the erections of new burghs like Valleyfield and Borrowstounness, to the detriment of more ancient institutions like Culross. It is not unworthy of notice that the hostility between the people of Culross and Low Valleyfield, thus

[1] The fairs and markets allowed to be held under the Valleyfield charter of barony.

engendered, continued for many long years to act as a memorial of division and rivalry, and is not altogether extinct even at the present day, when the original cause has become altogether forgotten.

A delinquent is ordered as a punishment to make a pair of branks for the town's use :—

"25 *Jany.* 1664.

"The said day Rot. Kymmen wes arrestit in prison till he find cautione to make a pair of sufficient branks for skalds and flyters, cursers and swearers; and that in satisfaction of his former insolences, ryots, and disorders within this burgh."

"1 *February* 1664.

"The said day John Blyth, cautioner for Robert Kymine, is ordained to employ Robert Sands to make a pair of sufficient new branks for the tounes use again Weddnesday next at night, and to pay him for making therof, under the pain of imprisonment."

"15 *Feby.* 1664.

"The said day Robert Kymmen, and John Blyth, his cautioner, gave in before the counsell a pair of branks for flytters, raillers, cursers, and swearers."

Two burgesses are imprisoned for employing weavers in Valleyfield, the new opposition burgh :—

"The said day William Witherspoones and Bessie Crane ar ordeined to be keipit still in prison during the baillies pleasure for imploying weavers in the Valeyfield to work webs, qlk they confest themselves; and are fread from the £40 pund incurred be either of them for transgressing the Act of council made theranent."

"*The depositione of David Mitchell and Wm. Craiche anent the speatches uttered be Wm. Pearsone and Wm. Fynniesone to others at David Gourlay's wyff's lait wake.*

"13 *June* 1664.

"The said day David Mitchell, younger, and Wm. Craich, thesaurer, witnesses, being sworne, depones, both *eodem modo*, that William Finnison, merchant, upon Saturday bygane 20 dayes, at night at David Gourlay's wyff's laite wake, fell on railling upon William Pearsone and abused him with his tongue, in challenging him, and saying that he had made him dearer nor himself about the peck to the boll paying to Robert Andrew, and that the said Wm. Pearsone had muche more trade nor he hes, and that he could prove that Wm. Pearsone took a peck to the boll of 60 bolls bear from William Hutton; wherunto William Pearsone sayd, it was ane untruthe, and that if William Finnisone could make it out, he should pay Finnisone's fyne dew be him to Rot. Andrew, bot giff he could not mak it guid, he was but a knave in saying of it; wherunto Finnisone answered, that altho' he wear a blew bonnet, yett he was as honest a man as himself, or any that wear a hatt."

A scold receives sentence for speaking evil of dignities:—

"20 *June* 1664.

"The said day Margaret Haleyday, for rayling upon the Dean of Gild upon the Heighe Street, near the mercat croce, upon Fryday last, was ordered to sitt doune upon her knees in presence of the counsale, and to confess her fault, and crave the Dean of Gild pardon, whilk she did; lykas the counsale ordeins her to be unlayed in 20 pund iff ever she fall in the lyke."

The council is not above turning an honest penny by letting out the town ladders:—

"23 *June* 1664.

"The said day Thomas Leyes, officer, is ordeined be councill to be comptabill to them for the tounes two ledders, and ordeins him to lend out the ledders to any of the burgesses and inhabitants of this burgh for dayly payment of 12 pennies[1] for ilk ane of them, and takeing a sufficient pledge of the borrowers for payment therof dayly, and for the worth of the ladder; and the councill allows the officer the half of the 12 pennies for his own paynes."

The following entry shows the general apprehensions which were being entertained in Great Britain of the approach of the plague, which, however, never visited Scotland subsequent to 1646. It was shortly after this to make its last and most appalling visit in "the Great Plague of London" in 1665, in which it is computed that nearly 100,000 persons perished:

"25 *July* 1664.

"The said day, by reasone of the increase and daylie spreading of the infection of the playgue in Holland, it is ordayned that two men in every quarter of the toune be appoynted to watche at the east, west, and north parts of this burgh, and to begin this night, and to continue untill the tent day of August next, and farder during the magistrates and councill their pleasour."

Orders are issued for providing halberts as the *insignia* of the magistrates, also for checking juvenile delinquents:—

"29 *August* 1664.

"To be advysit agayn the next counsale day anent the

[1] A penny sterling.

furnishing of halberts to be caryit befor the magistrats every fair day.

"Item, to be advysit anent the taking of ane present course concerning idle young boys within this burgh."

In consequence of the impending war with Holland, an order is sent to Culross for a quota of six seamen to man the fleet:—

"19 *Sept.* 1664.

"The said day ane missive letter, direct from the Earle of Rothes, Lord High Thesaurer of Scotland, to the magistrates of this burgh, wes presented before the counsale, anent the listing of six seamen furth of Culross, to be send to Leith betuix and the first October next, for his Majestie's service; which being read, the counsale ordaynes the drum to go throw the town in order therto."

"11 *Octr.* 1664.

"The said day Baillie William Pearsone is nominat and ordayned to go to Leith the morrow with the seamen, and to delyver them to Thomas Moncrieff, and gett his note upon his receat of them."

In the following entry "the horologe of the steiple," which is ordered to be renewed, must be the church clock, as the picturesque bell-tower of the town-house was not then in existence:—

"21 *Nov.* 1664.

"The qlk day, Bailie Sands being preses, the counsale, with consent of my Lord Provost, hes unanimouslie condescendit that the horologe of the steiple of Culross be renewed, and a plate of lead or copper to be provydit for with all possible diligence."

In the two following entries regarding a prohibi-

tion of intercourse with Holland, the first has probably reference to the apprehension of the plague being imported from that country; the second is evidently in connection with the war against the Dutch:—

"21 *Nov.* 1664.

"The said day William Drysdale, John Chrysty, James Baid, James Miller, and Robert Chattow, were every one of them decerned in ane unlaw of ten punds Scots for eating, drinking, and conversing with George Bruce, sone to umquhile George Bruce, the last weik, both in Borrowstounness and Culross, he having laitly come from Holland in Thomas Stock's schip of Borrowstounness."

"12 *December* 1664.

"The said day their was producit the secret counsell's orders, daited 2 December 1664, anent the seising upon all veschells upon this road or harborie belonging to the United Provinces, as also intimating to this burgh not to send out any ships till convoys be provydit."

In 1665 the proportion of taxation payable by Culross to the general revenue of Scotland was £400 Scots. This is only inferior among the other Scottish burghs to that imposed on Edinburgh (£7999, 15s.), Dundee (£1555, 13s.), Glasgow (£1444, 6s.), Perth (£889), St Andrews (£604, 13s.), Kirkcaldy (£533, 6s.), Inverness (£488, 18s.), and Montrose (£444, 10s.) Culross pays the same proportion as Haddington and Linlithgow, and is far above Cupar or Dunfermline, the former of which is rated at £244, 9s., and the latter at £188, 18s. Dysart and Ayr are rated each at £311, 4s.; Dumfries at

£370, 8s.; Anstruther Easter at £177, 15s.; Pittenweem at £148, 3s.; and Inverkeithing at £111, 2s. 2d. The whole tax imposed on the kingdom at this time was £133,333, 6s. 8d., of which the proportion paid by the burghs was £22,222, 4s. 6d.[1]

[1] From Dr Marwick's 'Records of the Convention of Royal Scottish Burghs.'

CHAPTER XII.

THE BURGH RECORDS FROM 1666 TO 1679.

THE year 1666, or *annus mirabilis* of Dryden, so memorable as that of the Great Fire of London, and also to Scotch Presbyterians in connection with the disastrous termination of a rising in the west country in the defeat at Rullion Green, is chiefly noticeable as regards Culross in reference to the revived claim of jurisdiction over her made by Lord Colville of Ochiltree. The particulars of this contest will shortly be explained, but I have first to notice two entries in the burgh records belonging to the earlier part of the year.

The first of them is not a particularly savoury one, and may therefore be skipped by the fastidious reader. As an illustration of the strange coarse manners of the time, it seems too curious to be omitted :—

"11 *January* 1666.

"The quhilk day, anent the complent given in be Thomas Lies, officer of the said burgh, procurator-fiscall at the court of Culrois, for the tounis interest, against William Mastertoun, merchand, burges of the said burgh of Culrois, mak-

and mention that the said William, upone the second day of January instant, in the night tyme, accompanying Mr Alexander Couper, lait scholmaster at Culrois, in his imprisonment within the counsell hous of the tolbuthe of the said burgh, for deteaning and keiping up of the kirk's registers and rytis, the said William, without any regard or respect he had, as ane burges of this burghe, to the magistrates therof, or place where he then was, being the speciall seat of justice within this burghe, he rose from the tabill where he was sitting with the said Mr Alexander and certeine other discreit and honorabill personis who war lykwayes accompanying the said Mr Alexr., and there most obsurdly and undiscreitly fyled and abused the said counsell hous by putting forth his filthe and excramentis therintill within ane brasen pott belonging to James Bennet, cordiner, burges of the said burghe, being then within the said counsell hous, to the great dishonour and contempt of authoritie and place where he then was, as the said bill of complent in the self proportis; qlk being callit, the said William Mastertoun compearand personallie in judgment, and he being interrogat be the saids baillies if it was true what was conteanit in the said bill of complent, he immediatlie confest and acknowledgit the samyne to be of veritie. And the saids baillies finding the said William Mastertoun culpabill and guiltie of the foresaid wrong and abuse by his own confession, thairfor they have convict and decernit the said William in ane unlaw of four punds Scottis, and ordanis the samyne to be payed before his removall furthe of the said tolbuthe; wherupon the said Thomas Lies, procurator-fiscall aforesaid, askit and took instrumentis and act of court."

The next entry gives a specimen of the paternal ideas of government prevalent in those days regarding the fixing of the price of commodities, and affords some interesting statistics on the price of grain and beer:—

"7 *February* 1666.

"The qlk day thair was produced befor the saids baillies and counsell ane proclamation anent the pryces of aill and bear issued furth from the Honorabill Lords of his Majestie's most Honorabill Privie Counsell of Scotland, off the dait the eightene day of January last, ordanying (for the causes thairin exprest) that quhen the pryce of the boll of the best rough bear[1] is six punds Scottis of Linlithgow measure, that the pynt of the best aill and best drinking bear sall be sold at twelf pennies Scotis—that when the pryce of the best rough bear sall be eight pund Scottis the boll, that the pryce of the best aill and best drinking bear be sold at twentie pennies Scottis—and that when the pryce of the best rough bear is at ten pund Scottis the boll, the pynt of the best aill and best drinking bear be sold at two shillings Scottis in tyme coming; and also ordanying the said proclamation to be punctuallie observit be all brewaris and tapsteris within the kingdome, certifeing thame thairby if they failzie they sall be dischargit brewing, tepping, or retailing for a full year efter their transgression, and further fyned at the discretione of the judge and qualitie of the offence, as the proclamatione conteanyng divers others clauses for punishing of the transgressors therof at mair lenth proportis: qlk being read and dewlie considerit be the saids baillies and counsell, they, be pluralitie of voices, judgit it expedient that the said proclamatione sould be published at the mercat croce of this burgh upon Fryday next, that the brewaris within the samyne burghe and other persons mentionat in the said proclamatione might pretend no ignorance therof."

From the above we learn that when "rough bear" was at its cheapest (£6 Scots, or 10s. sterling, the boll), the proportion of the price of a Scotch pint, or rather more than two imperial quarts of ale, to the

[1] Coarse barley.

value of a Linlithgow boll of barley, was as 1 to 120; at its medium price of £8 Scots, or 13s. 4d. sterling, the proportion borne by the cost of the pint to that of the boll was as 1 to 96; and at its highest price of £10 Scots, or 16s. 8d. sterling, the proportion was 1 to 100. We may fairly conclude that at this period the price of "rough bear" (now almost obsolete as a growth) seldom rose above the last or fell below the first of these rates. At the present day the average price of the imperial quarter of barley may be stated at £1, 8s. The old Linlithgow boll contains nearly six bushels, and its value may be taken at 18s. 8d., or about two-thirds the cost of an imperial quarter. Reckoning the price of an imperial pint of beer at 4d., the proportion borne by it at the present day to the value of the old boll of six bushels is 1 to 56; and the Scotch pint, at the same rate, would only be as 1 to 14. It is evident, therefore, that our ancestors drank ale at a wonderfully cheaper rate than we do—that is to say, at less than one-eighth of the cost. Taking into account, however, the difference between the values of money two hundred years ago and at the present time (moderately estimated at the proportion of 1 to 3), it would seem that the price of grain (at least of barley) was fully twice greater in the days of Charles II. than in those of Victoria.

Another subject for remark is suggested by the above minute of the Culross town council. Ale and beer were then, and continued for a long time subsequently to be, the popular beverage in the Scottish

Lowlands, where, notwithstanding the general opprobrium which has generally attached to their inhabitants in connection with this matter, ardent spirits, and more especially whisky, were but little used till about the middle of the last century. In almost all the cases related either in the kirk-session or burgh records, where the keepers of "eall houses" are summoned for selling liquor on Sundays or otherwise prosecuted, the liquor supplied by them is almost invariably ale; and this appears also to have been most generally in vogue on all ordinary occasions. "French wyne," or claret, indeed, was in common use among the upper classes, and was procurable in almost every hostelry. But whisky, though undoubtedly largely consumed in the Highlands, as also in Ireland, was by no means then, in the Lowland counties of Scotland, the common potation which it has since become. In the whole of the kirk-session records I have only found one reference to it, and that of a comparatively recent date.

The struggle which the burgh of Culross had to wage this year, and apparently not very successfully, with Lord Colville of Ochiltree, discloses a strange phase of ancient manners, as exhibited in the system of heritable jurisdictions, finally abolished in 1748. The Colvilles of Ochiltree, so called from their descent from Robert Colville, a natural son of Sir James Colville of Easter Wemyss, have already been noticed. The last of the four Robert Colvilles who had successively enjoyed the estate of Cleish, was raised to the peerage in 1651 by

Charles II., under the title of Lord Colville of Ochiltree. He died at Crombie in 1662, and being predeceased by his son David Colville, was succeeded by his grandson Robert, who inherited the family estates as Robert, second Lord Colville of Ochiltree, and died at Cleish in 1671. It was he who came so seriously into collision with the burghers of Culross.

In speaking of those Lord Colvilles of Ochiltree thus descended from an illegitimate son of Sir James Colville of Easter Wemyss, it is necessary to distinguish them carefully from the Lord Colvilles of Culross, who were also descended from the same common ancestor, but through his legitimate son and successor.

Previous to the Reformation, the Earls of Argyll, who had their residence at Castle Campbell, held, as already mentioned, the office of hereditary bailies of the abbey and regality of Culross under the supremacy of the abbots. On the suppression of the monasteries, and annexation of the property belonging to them to the Crown, this office of bailiary of the lordship of Culross was, in 1569, transferred from the Argyll family to the second Robert Colville of Cleish, grandfather of the first Lord Colville of Ochiltree, as a heritable fief.

The authority thus claimed by Lord Colville of Ochiltree over the territory of Culross was that "of all jurisdictions civil or criminal, and of all the amerciaments, bloods, and casualties to his own behoof." That is to say, he claimed to act as judge

in all matters civil and criminal, and to receive for his own behoof all the fines and forfeitures levied in his court. These must have formed a considerable source of revenue; and it is therefore no wonder that he insisted so strongly on the maintenance of his rights, in which, as he argued, he and his predecessors had been seized prior to the erection of Culross into a royal burgh, and the annexation of the abbey and its revenues to the Crown. But whilst his authority over the landward portion of the regality was undisputed, it was maintained, on behalf of the inhabitants of the burgh and its territory, that the royal charter in their favour superseded and abrogated, as regarded them, all other claims of jurisdiction.

Whether, previous to 1666, any endeavour had been made by Lord Colville's predecessors to enforce their asserted right, does not appear. Regarded simply from a legal point of view, there could be little doubt of its being well founded—and so it was held by the Court of Session on coming up before them this year for their judgment. But a question was raised as to whether the burgh might not have acquired, by long and continued exercise, a prescriptive right to the jurisdiction, in civil and commercial matters at least, which Lord Colville might in such a case be held to have forfeited through disuse. A proof was ordered as to this, and here the history of the suit abruptly terminates. How it was settled we are not informed, but the victory certainly did not remain with the town. Possibly

the process may have been allowed to fall into abeyance, from the death of Lord Colville a few years afterwards, and the minority and non-insistance of his son and successor. The claim was certainly considered a valid one by the family, as in 1733, we shall find it urged on the burgh authorities of Culross by Lord Colville's great-grandson, Robert Ayton Colville of Craigflower.

About this time the town seems to have been much troubled with the "invasione of the Hielanderis and other extraingald persons." It was therefore ordered,

"That ane watche be keipit everie night from this night [26 November] furthe, consisting of the number of eightene persons; and appoyntis and ordanis that there be two persons in everie quarter within this burgh for governyng the said nightlie watche—they ar to say, for the west quarter, David Mitchell, baillie, and William Drysdeall; for the northe quarter, James Makie, thesaurer, and James Shanks; and for the east quarter, Johne Archibald and Robert Bill: and ordains the governours of the west quarter to begin, the northe next, and the east quarter last, and swa to continew ilk persone their tour about during the tyme that the said watching sall happen to remayne unforholden."

But "*Quis custodiet custodes?*" The remedy threatened to prove worse than the disease, as we find under:—

"3 *December* 1666.

"The said day the saids bailleis and counsell, taking to consideratione the abuse that formerly hes bene committit in keiping of the nightlie watche, and for preventing of the lyk in tyme comeing, the saids baillies hes statut and

ordanit that if any of the souldieiris that comes to the watche be found *full*,[1] that they be removed that night from the watche, and pay twelf shillings Scottis upon the morrow unforgiven."

We hear no more of the "Hielanderis"; but the breaking out of a new war with Holland, and the hostile armaments despatched by the Dutch to the British shores, are thus referred to and provided against:—

"21 *June* 1667.

"The said day the saids bailleis and counsell, taking to their serious consideratione that whereas this kingdome is greatlie threatned to be invaded be forrane enemies, and that it was requisite that this burghe alseweill as other burghes within this kingdome war put in ane powstoir of defence against the forrane enemie: Thairfor the saids bailleis and counsell have statut and ordanit that all fenceabill persons within this burgh and libertie theroff, bothe frie and unfrie, be sufficientlie provydit with armour of their owne, such as musquettis, fyrelocks, stocks, and pykes, and that they mak their randesvowes therewith in the Sandie Heavin upon the sixt day of July next to come; and ordanis ilk persone that sall not be so provyded with the forsaid armour the forsaid day, to pay ane unlaw of ten punds unforgiven, and ordanes suche persons immediatlie therefter to be poyndit or wardit therefor."

About a fortnight previous, the magistrates had enacted the following sumptuary laws regarding "brydells," "bankquettis," and "wakkis":—

"10 *June* 1667.

"The said day the saids baillies and counsell, with advyse of my Lord Provost, upon certane considerations moving

[1] The italics are my own.

them, have ratifieit and approven, lykas they, be the tenor of this present Act, ratifies and approves, the former Acts maid anent brydell lawings, and that the pryce therof be eight shillings Scottis to ilk person that shall happene to be at any brydell in tyme coming within this burgh and libertie theroff, allenerly and no dearer; and that under the payne of ten punds Scottis to be payed by those who shall happen to transgress the samyne *toties quoties.*

"Lykas the said day the saids bailleis and counsell, with advyce of my Lord Provost, upone certane good respects and considerations moving thame to-day in regard of the great superfluitie and abuse formerlie maid at banquettis within this burghe and libertie theroff: Thairfor they, be pluralitie of voices, have dischargit, lykas they, be the tennor of this present Act, discharges, all bankquettis to be had at the baptizing of children within this burghe and libertie theroff, as said is, except onlie aill and bread, and no other great cheir; and that the number of persons that ar to be at the baptizing of the said children, being their godfathers and godmothers, be onlie sex men and sex women. And ordains that whosoever sall contraveane or transgres this present Act sall pay ane unlaw of ten punds Scottis mony unforgiven *toties quoties.*

"The samyne day the saids baillies and counsell, with advyce of my Lord Provost, taking to consideration the great abuse, undecencie, and disordour done at lait wakkis within this burgh and libertie theroff, they, for the better ordering of the samyne in tyme coming, have statut and ordanit that there come no person to lait wakkis within this burghe and libertie theroff in tyme comeing uninvited, and that the persons be bot few in number, and suche as the partie concerned sall desyre; and ordanes that the baillies in everie quarter where any suche lait waks sall happene to be herefter attend the samyne, that no abuse nor disorder be done."

The disorders attending an Irish wake were evi-

dently in former times by no means a peculiar characteristic of the Green Isle. The term "lait wakkis," or "late wake," would have called down the denunciation of Jonathan Oldbuck, who, it may be remembered, descants with some prolixity to his nephew Hector M'Intyre on the impropriety of using this instead of "lyke wake," which carries with it the evidence of its origin from the Anglo-Saxon *lich*, or German *Leichnam*, a corpse. But with all deference to the learned antiquary, "late wake" seems to have been in quite as common, if not greater, use.

To prevent any irregular conversation at the meetings of the Town Council, we find enacted:—

"16 *December* 1667.

"The qlk day the saids baillies and counsell, for the better ordour and conformitie to be used be them in tyme comeing whill they are in counsell, have statut and ordanit that none of the baillies nor counsellaris in no tyme coming, qll they ar sitting in counsell as said is, presume nor tak upone hand, under whatsomever cullor or pretext, to debait or contend or mak speitche ane with another, bot that they ordour their speitches to the preses that sall happene to be for the tyme—ilk contravener under the payment of ane shilling sterling."

Hitherto there is little evidence obtainable from the burgh records regarding the tyrannical government under which Scotland then groaned, or the still more unconstitutional proceedings of the military who scoured the country in pursuit of the recusant or fugitive Presbyterians. Two reasons

may be assigned for this: first, the circumstance that the hottest period of persecution had not yet arrived; and secondly, that there is little likelihood of any record being kept or notice taken of the arbitrary proceedings of the soldiers and their officers. Culross, indeed, and its district, do not seem to have experienced the same severity of oppression that fell so fearfully on the western counties. But evidence is not wanting either, as we shall see from time to time, of the merciless and oppressive system which then prevailed making its crushing influence perceptible. The entry to be quoted will fully bear out this remark:—

"1 *January* 1668.

"The qlk day the said bailleis and counsell, taking to consideration that wheras thair was ane ordour laitlie sent to this burgh be Sir Peter Wedderburne, clerk of his Majestie's Secret Counsell in Scotland, for subscryving of the declaratione and sending over the samyne be the saids bailleis to Edinburgh against the fyft of January instant; and in regard Robert Blaw, ane of the present bailleis of this burghe, had for the present refused to subscryve the said declaratione: Thairfor the saids baillies and counsell have not onlie suspendit the said Rot. Blaw, baillie, from executing the office of magistracie or as counsellar within this burghe ay and qll till he subscryve the said declaratione, but also hes convict and decernit him in ane unlaw of one hundrethe punds Scottis for refusing to subscryve the declaratione aforesaid."

The Sir Peter Wedderburn above mentioned was Sir Peter Wedderburn of Gosford, knight, father of Sir Peter Wedderburn of Gosford, who was created

a baronet by Charles II., and by marrying the heiress of Pitfirrane, near Dunfermline, was obliged to assume the name and arms of the Halket family. Probably, as things went in those days, he was a respectable man; but it is difficult to conceive the existence of any respectability in connection with the holding of office under the odious Privy Council, presided over by Lauderdale and his compeers. A similar sentence to that pronounced on Blaw was three weeks afterwards directed against James Craiche, Dean of Guild, and two of the town councillors, named respectively John Burnsyde and John Sands. At first sight the reader may imagine that Robert Blaw must have been a troublesome contumacious man to have refused subscriptions to a declaration, when ordered by his brother magistrates, who themselves had received instructions from the authorities in Edinburgh. But before forming any opinion on the matter, it will be as well that he peruse the declaration in question, of which, at the risk of wearing out his patience, I herewith present a copy:—

"I solemnly swear, in presence of the eternal God, whom I invocat as judge and witnes of my sincere intentione of this my oath, that I own and sincerely profess the true Protestant religion, conteinit in the Confession of Faith, recorded in the first Parliament of King James the Sixt, and that I believe the same to be founded on and agreeable to the written Word of God; and I promise and swear that I shall adhere thereto during all the days of my lyftyme, and sall endeavour to educate my children therein, and sall never consent to any change or alteration contrare

thereto; and I disowne and renounce all such principles, doctrines, or practices, whether popish or jezaweiticall, which ar contrar unto and inconsistent with the said Protestant religion and Confession of Faith. And for testification of my obedience to my most gracious soveraigne Charles the Second, I do affirm and swear, by this my solemn oath, that the King's Majestie is the only supreme governor of this realm, over all persons and all causes, as well ecclesiasticall as civill; and that no forraigne prince, person, pope, prelate, state, or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superioritie, preheminencie, or authoritie, ecclesiasticall or civill, within this realm; and therefor I doe utterly renounce and forsak all forraigne jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and doe promise that from henceforth I sall bear faith and true allegiance to the King's Majestie, his aires and lawful successors, and to my power sall assert and defend all rights, jurisdictions, prerogatives, privileges, preheminencies, and authorities belonging to the King's Majestie, his aires and lawful successors. And I farther affirm and swear, by this my solemn oath, that I judge it unlawful for subjects, upon pretence of reformation, or any other pretence whatsoever, to enter into covenants or leagues, or to convocat, convein, or assemble in any councils, conventions, or assemblies, to treat, consult, or determine in any matter of state, civill or ecclesiastick, without his Majestie's speciall command or express licence had thereto, or to tak up armes against the King or those commissionated by him; and that I sall never armes or enter into such covenants or assemblies, and that there lyes no obligation upon me from the Nationall Covenant, or the Solemn League and Covenant, so commonly called, or any other manner of way whatsoever, to indevour any change or alteration in the government either in Church or State as it is well established by the lawes of this kingdom. And I promise and swear that I sall with my utmost power defend, assist, and mainteen

his Majestie's jurisdiction foresaid against all deedly;[1] and I sall never declyne his Majestie's power and jurisdiction, as I sall answer to God. And finally, I affirm and swear that this my solemn oath is given in the plaine genuine sense and meaning of the words, without any equivocation, mental reservation, or any manner of evasion whatsoever; and that I sall never accept or use any dispensation from any creature whatsoever. So help me God."

It will be pretty plain, I think, that few persons, almost of any shade of political or religious opinion, who had in the slightest degree the courage to avow and maintain their sentiments, could have subscribed such a declaration as the above without a feeling of the most thorough degradation and self-contempt. Yet such were the declarations sought to be imposed by the Government of the day on the Scottish people, and such was the depth of craven submission to which it was attempted to reduce them. It has been a good deal the fashion to represent the Presbyterians in the reigns of Charles and James II. as a fanatical, obstinate, and precise set of men, who aimed at the realisation of Utopian ideas in Church or State such as could never be carried out or conceded with safety in any community. But it is at least equally certain that their rulers endeavoured to subject them to a mental thraldom which had hitherto been unprecedented in Great Britain, and could only find a parallel in the countries of the Inquisition. The Presbyterians, rightly or wrongly, regarded their form of religion as of divine origin, and would have

[1] *I.e.*, *deadly*, a mistranslation of the expression *contra omnes mortales*, which is now generally rendered "against all mortals."

felt as sincere and conscientious scruples in admitting the right of a prelatical king to determine the constitution of the Church, as a Protestant would experience in acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope, or an early Christian in worshipping the image of the Roman emperor.

In what follows next we get some statistics of the prices of foreign liquors in those days :—

"10 *November* 1668.

"The quhilk day the pettie impost of wyne, strong wateris, forren bear, and aill ventet within this burgh, was sett to William Drysdeall, merch. and burges of Culrois, from the first day of November 1668 to the first of November 1669, for payment of the soume of threttene hundrethe and fyftie merkis Scottis money,[1] at four quarters in the year — Candlemas, Witsonday, Lambes, and Mertynmes 1669 yearis—who fand Alexander Aitkene, ane of the lait baillies of Culrois, John Sands, ane other of the lait baillies therof, and Robert Bald, cordiner, burges of the samyne, cautioners for him. And the said principal taksman, and his cautioneris forsaids, actit and obleigt themselves, conjunctlie and severallie, to mak payment of the said soume at the foresaid dyettes; and the said Wm. Drysdeall actit and obleigt himself for his cautioneris releiff.

"*Heir followis the pryces sett doun be the saids baillies and counsell to be taken for wyne, strong watteris, forrane imported bear, and aill ventet within this burghe during the space above writtene, be the taksman aforsaid, from the brewaris and venteneris of the samyne—viz.:*

For the puncheon of French wyne .	£4	0	0
For the rundell of seck . . .	1	10	0
For the whole anker of brandie . .	1	0	0
For the half anker	0	10	0

[1] £75 sterling.

For the barrell of forrane bear . .	£0	12	0
For brewing of the boll malt . .	0	13	4"

"French wyne" was doubtless what we now call claret, and which in those days, and for nearly a century afterwards, was an extensive article of import and consumption in Scotland. "Seck," or sack, so familiar to all students of Shakespeare, was the old name for sherry—*i.e.*, the *dry wine*, from the French *sec*. From a passage in Ben Jonson's 'Bartholomew Fair,' it clearly appears that the terms "sack" and "sherry" were synonymous, the former being the older and more popular word :—

"*Lanterne Leatherhead* (hobby-horse seller).

"And because he would have him their first meeting to be merry,
He strikes Hero in love to him with a pint of sherry,
Which he tells her from amorous Leander is sent her,
Who after him into the room of Hero doth venture.

Puppet Jo. A pinte of sacke, score a pint of sacke in the Comrey [?]

Cokes. Sack? You said but e'en now it should be sherry.

Puppet Jo. Why, so it is; sherry, sherry, sherry!

Cokes. Sherry, sherry, sherry! By my troth, he makes me merry! I must have a name for Cupid too."

It would also appear, from the foregoing list of prices, that "strong waters" signified brandy. What is referred to in several entries as "*aqua vitæ*" was doubtless whisky, which, at the date of which we speak, seems to have been comparatively little drunk, at all events in the Lowlands.

The next extract gives us an unpleasant idea of the condition of the wells of Culross :—

"1 *November* 1669.

"*Act against such persons that sall washe at Bessie Barre's Well, or other wells within this burgh, ayther clothes or other things in tyme coming.*

"The said day the baillies and counsill, taking to their consideratione the severell complents given in by severell of the burgesses and inhabitants of this burgh, against those that resort to the wells of this burgh with their foull linnings and yairn and such lyke, to wasche them therat, which poysons and abuses the samein wells, to the great hurt and prejudice of the whole inhabitants within this burgh, and other his Majesty's leidges resorting thither; for preventing of the same in tyme comeing, they have unanimously appoynted that certificatione be immediatlie made, by touck of drums, to all those that shall be found doing the lyke in tyme coming, that they shall immediatlie pay ane unlay of fourty shillings Scots for the transgression, by and attour the breaking of the tubs, *toties quoties.*"

The "middings" are also a constant trouble :—

"6 *December* 1669.

"The forsaid day the officer is ordered, ilk day after the dait heirof, to take inspection of the street betwix the cross and the strand of this burgh, whither their be any middings lying upon the same; and to enquyre for the owners theirof, and to poynd them for twelve shilling Scots, to be imployed be him for his owne proper use, *toties quoties.* Qherin iff he failzie he is by this Act ordenied to pay twelve shillings himself for the failzie."

In an inquest held under date September 14, 1670, for serving George Lumsdane heir to his father, Sir

James Lumsdane of Innergellie, there occur among the names of the jurors, "Robert Newall, lait clerk of Culrois; Andro Gray, merchant, burges therof; and Hercules Huntar, chirurgeon, within the samyne." This is the earliest notice that I have found of a resident Esculapius in Culross.

The two following extracts from the town council minute-book are interesting in connection with a subject of which it may seem strange to many, as it has also done to myself, that so little notice is furnished by the burgh records of Culross. It is well known that trials and executions for witchcraft were exceedingly common in Scotland during the seventeenth century; and the Presbyterian polity has been credited with much of the injustice and cruelty which thus took place. No doubt the Presbyterians believed devoutly in the existence of witches, and the duty of pursuing them to the death; but though it is said that Sir George Mackenzie, the King's advocate and public prosecutor in the reigns of Charles and James II., discredited the reality of such a crime, it is certain that, under the Episcopal sway, prosecutions for witchcraft were quite as common as at any other period—and the Government of the day had nearly as much to answer for in this respect as for the cruel persecution of the Covenanters. Yet, as regards Culross, there is not so much evidence demonstrative of either of these points as might have been expected. Possibly, indeed, many of the prosecutions may have been carried on before Lord Colville's Regality Court, of whose proceedings

no records, so far as I have been able to discover, are now in existence. The adjoining parish of Torryburn was, we know, famous for its witches; and we have already seen how that, at an earlier period, the subject had engaged the attention both of the kirk-session and burgh authorities. But I have not found recorded in the proceedings of either, one indubitable instance of an execution on this account having taken place within the territory of Culross.[1] There is, indeed, in 'Satan's Invisible World Displayed,' a horrible story of a poor woman, under sentence of death for witchcraft, endeavouring to make her escape from the Culross tolbooth, and injuring herself so dreadfully that she had to be carried to the place of execution in a chair. The event is detailed there professedly by an eyewitness; but it is impossible to receive any statement on the authority of such a book. It has generally happened that witches, notwithstanding all the diabolical influence at their command, remained involved in the utmost poverty and want, and had to exemplify in the fullest extent the axiom of the devil being the hardest of taskmasters. But, from what follows below, it would seem that they were occasionally possessed of property sufficient to render their escheats or forfeitures matters of such importance as to induce the magistrates of a royal burgh to come forward as competitors in the division of the spoil.

[1] In the present instance the victims had been conveyed to, sentenced, and executed in Edinburgh.

"2 *August* 1675.

"The quhilk day the saids magistrattis and counsell, upon the consideratione of the great panes and expence this place hes bene at in prosequieting the four witches to deathe, and that nevertheles there ar divers persons given in for the gift of their escheit: They therefore have commissionat John Kennewie, their clerk, to goe over, and to give in for the samyne in behalf of this burghe; and failzieing his procuring therof, they have ordered him to tak the accompt of the expenses alongst with him, and to petitione the excheker that whosoever gett the gift they may be ordered to take it with the burdene of the said accompt."

"16 *July* 1677.

"The forsaid day the magistrates and council, considering that they ly out in ane considerabill somme of the money expended in thair recovering of the gift of escheat, they thairfor ordeans the gift to be send over, that horning be raised against these lyabill in payment of thair proportiones, if they give not satisfactione once this week."

Whether the magistrates succeeded or not in recovering their claims in the above case, we are not informed, as nothing further appears in the minute-books either in reference to it or any other prosecution for witchcraft. Some proceedings of a mild character will be found recorded a good many years subsequently in the kirk-session archives in connection with charming and suchlike occult arts. But as regards the civic records, they are, for a long time subsequent as well as previous to this period, singularly meagre and devoid of interest. The entries exhibit also an unusual amount of confusion and bad grammar. It was now a time of persecution—

though the hottest period of it had not yet arrived —and a general blight, civil and ecclesiastical, had overtaken Scotland. For several years there seems to have been no regular ministry in Culross; and as we learn from the prelatical Kirk records themselves, a fearful tide of moral and spiritual declension had set in. Here is some endeavour on the part of the magistrates to remedy the temporal disadvantages thereby occasioned :—

"23 *August* 1675.

"The samyne day the saids baillies and counsell, upon consideration that there ar many poore indigent householders within this place who thinks evill to beg, and ar in a sterving condition; and that there is seldome preaching here, and that many devertis [*sic*] the goeing to the churche, so that thair can be no suplie gotten for thame without ane remeid therto: They have therfor appoyntit that ane roll be drawine of the inhabitants, and given to two in each quarter of the town, that they may goe throw eache fourtnight and collect what they ar Christianlie disposed to bestow in charitie for the maintenance of the said poore, that they sterve not, as licklie they will if not supplied as aforsaid; and that the collectoris be changed every quarter, as the saids baillies thinks fitt."

Mr Burnett was inducted in 1676 as minister of the first charge of Culross; and probably in consequence of this, the following edict is issued by the magistrates :—

"27 *April* 1676.

"The said day it was intimat at the head court to the inhabitants, that such of thame as have disearted the church hitherto, shall for the future be moir observand in going

thairto; otherwayes such of thame as have not yett bene summoned elsequhair, will be proceided against be the baillies, conforme to the Act of Parliament."

The system of quartering soldiers on a town or individuals, so frequently employed as an engine of oppression, seems to have been the common method in those days of enforcing payment of taxes. We find frequent instances of this in the burgh records. Here is one :—

"18 *December* 1676.

"The said day, upon consideratione that the party of horse are still quartering for what is yett deficient of the twelf moneths cess which Baillie Aitkene hes intrometted with, the magistrats and counsell have thought fitt that he be imprisoned till payment be maid therof; and as to the ryding money, they ar to take such ane course as the party shall judge convenient, by poinding the deficients for the samyne."

We have seen how, in 1668, Robert Blaw, one of the Culross bailies, was, with others, deprived of office and fined in £100 Scots by his brother magistrates for refusing to subscribe the declaration demanded by the Government. Nine years afterwards, in 1677, he and William Gray, a girdlemaker, were fined by the Privy Council, as we are informed by Wodrow, in the sums respectively of 2000 and 200 merks Scots for frequenting conventicles. The same authority states, moreover, that on the same day Adam Stobie (or Stobow) of Luscar was "fined by the council in 3000 merks for keeping conventicles, withdrawing from public ordinances, reset and

converse with intercommuned persons, and, after payment of the fine, ordered to be transported furth of the kingdom." An interesting corroboration of the last-mentioned circumstances is furnished by the narrative of Captain John Creichton, a soldier of fortune, of Irish extraction, whose Memoirs were edited by no less a personage than Dean Swift, and will be found in the edition of his collected works. Creichton had been introduced, in 1674, to the Marquis of Athole, and received into his troop at Stirling under Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn. Soon after this he was largely employed in the west in the suppression of conventicles, and he was afterwards the principal actor in the famous hunt after the Rev. David Williamson, who took refuge in the house of Lady Cherrytrees, near Edinburgh, and eluded capture by a singular device on the part of his hostess. Then he goes on to tell how, some time after, he had been directed by General Dalziel to take the command of a party of foot-guards, and go in pursuit "of a notorious rebel, one Adam Stobow, a farmer in Fife, near Culross." I shall tell the rest of the story in Creichton's own words:—

"This fellow had gone through the west endeavouring to stir up sedition in the people by his great skill in canting and praying. There had been several parties sent out after him before I and my men undertook the business; but they could never discover him. We reached Culross at night, when I directed the ensign and all the men to secure three or four rebels who were in the place, while I, with two or three of the soldiers to assist me, went to Stobow's house, about a mile and a half from Culross, by break of day, for

fear some of his friends might give him notice. Before I got to the house I observed a kiln in the way, which I ordered to be searched, because I found there a heap of straw in the passage up to the kiln-pot. There I found Stobow lurking, and carried him to Culross, although his daughter offered me a hundred dollars to let him go. We returned immediately to the general at Edinburgh with Stobow and the prisoners taken by the ensign at Culross. They continued awhile in confinement, but Stobow, at his trial, found friends enough to save his life, and was only banished; yet he returned home a year after, and proved as troublesome and seditious as ever, till, at the fight at Bothwell Bridge, it was thought he was killed, for he was never heard of afterward."

There seems no reason to doubt that the "Adam Stobie of Luscar" mentioned by Wodrow is the same as the "Adam Stobow" of Captain Creichton. I have not been able to discover the name of Stobow or Stobie, whether as a farmer or proprietor, in any part of the parish of Culross at the period under consideration. There is an estate named Luscar near Carnock, in Fife, about five miles from Culross; and this, in all probability, was the place visited by Creichton. Yet he speaks of it as being only a mile and a half from Culross. Taking these as Scotch miles, they would amount nearly to three English ones, and in this way his statement would tally with the real distance between the places. At all events, he may readily be conceived to have let his memory make a slip; and it is quite possible, too, that in a rapid ride at early morn he might easily fancy the distance traversed less than it really was. Any

further solution of the question seems now unattainable.

It is only too probable, from the account given by Captain Creichton, that several persons who were captured by his troop at Culross paid the penalty of death for their adherence to their principles. The following entry shows that the Presbyterian recusants had begun to hold meetings for religious worship in the neighbourhood of Culross:—

"7 *November* 1678.

"The said day the said Sir Alexr. Bruce signified to the town council that he is informed that there are certain disorderly conventicle meittings in and about this burgh and elsewhere, to which certan of their burgesses doeth repair; and therfor desired the saids magistrates to advert to it, by their tymus proceiding against them, conform to the Act of Parliament; the which advyce of his they find convenient, and accordingly thinks fitt they be proceidit against *ut supra* with all expeditione."

This Sir Alexander Bruce of Broomhall has been already referred to. Though a steady supporter of the Government, and in after-days a stanch Jacobite, we are informed by Wodrow that he had, in 1677, to submit to a fine of £1200 for not having enforced on his tenants the subscription of a certain bond; and as some of them, by repeated attendance at conventicles, had rendered themselves liable in a heavy amount of accumulated impositions, Sir Alexander was obliged to make these good.

From a report to the Privy Council, quoted by Wodrow, we learn that the magistrates of Culross

were at that time cited before the Committee "for permitting one Michael Potter, a fugitive person, to be schoolmaster there, and for resetting one William Adam, a fugitive and banished person, and others." It goes on further to say—

"There being a conventicle kept in Culross Sabbath was eight days, which was dissipate by Captain Buchan, and about eighteen persons seized upon and imprisoned in Culross; upon examination, the Committee finds that the magistrates had set some of them at liberty at their own hand. The Committee has ordered the magistrates to call them all back to prison, and hath condescended upon the persons most substantial of them, and appointed the magistrates to produce them before the Council this day se'en night; and if the rest, who are mean persons, will give bond to keep their own parish churches and not keep conventicles, they have appointed them to liberate them, otherwise to continue them in prison. The Committee find the magistrates are culpable, and deserve to be fined; but it is their opinion that the Council shall delay to punish them for some time, that they may see what will be their future carriage, and have time to search for and apprehend the said William Adam, —which the bailie present undertook to do."

There is nothing about these proceedings in the minute-book of this period, though a few years hence we shall find the magistrates getting into some trouble with the Privy Council. Perhaps they were too much frightened to make any entries on the subject, for there seems no reason to doubt the accuracy of the circumstances quoted by Wodrow. As regards the holding of conventicles, it has always been a tradition that this took place in a secluded part of

Culross Moor, now covered with wood; but nothing definite can be stated regarding the locality. No doubt the unpleasant experiences of Sir Alexander Bruce in the way of pecuniary mulcts would render him doubly eager in urging the suppression of these meetings on the Culross magistrates.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BURGH RECORDS FROM 1679 TO THE REVOLUTION.

ABOUT this period a distinguished historical personage may have been seen passing through Culross. This was no other than the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, who, as we are informed by Captain Creichton in the Memoirs already quoted, made a journey into Fife to visit the Duke of Rothes, shortly after the battle of Bothwell Bridge, which had been fought in the course of this summer. He travelled from Glasgow by way of Stirling; and although we cannot be certain that he passed through the town, it is at least highly probably that he either did so, or took the road from Clackmannan through Culross Muir. He crossed, it is likely, Newmill Burn by the picturesque old bridge which still remains; then passed through Torryburn, over Cairney Hill, to Dunfermline, and from thence journeyed by Lochgelly and Auchterderran to Leslie. We can, of course, only speculate, but it may be received as an indisputable fact that the son of Charles II. and Lucy Waters, the husband

of the heiress of Buccleuch, and ancestor of the present Duke of that name, did make the journey above indicated from Stirling to Leslie; and there is no reason to believe that he would follow any but the most direct and commodious road. Such a course would necessarily lead him through Alloa and Clackmannan, and likewise in all probability through Culross. He had just gained a great victory on behalf of his father; and it must always be remembered to his credit, that his clemency to the vanquished, and general desire to conciliate by mild and humane measures, excited the ill-will and opposition of the merciless set of men then at the head of Scottish affairs. Irresolute and weak-minded he might be, but we cannot regard his aberrations with much severity; and when we think of his capture a few years afterwards in the muddy ditch at Sedgemoor, and his execution subsequently in Lincoln's Inn Fields, we may be pardoned for dwelling a moment on this glimpse of the handsome and ill-fated scion of royalty, as he slowly rides with his gay retinue through the old burgh, and pressing on more rapidly as he leaves it, disappears along the winding shore-road beneath the Valleyfield Braes.

We must now turn again to more serious matters. Things were becoming worse and more intolerable every day, both in Scotland and England, — the arbitrary powers of the Crown having recently been greatly increased by the triumph in South Britain of the Tory party. The Duke of York was sent

down as viceroy to Scotland, and a veritable reign of terror was the result,—nothing ever recorded of French *dragonnades*, or Spanish persecutions in the Low Countries, surpassing in atrocity what the Lowland Presbyterians of Scotland had to undergo for about six or seven years, between the battle of Bothwell Bridge and the commencement of the reign of James II. The punishment of death was decreed against any one who should be found attending a conventicle; and commissions were granted to various noblemen and military officers for taking cognisance of and punishing disaffected persons, the effects of which proved nothing short of the letting loose on peaceful districts of a set of lawless desperadoes, who, under the guise of royal authority, exercised the most inquisitorial sway, and perpetrated the most horrid cruelties. It has often been sought to palliate the iniquities which then took place, by pleading exaggeration on the part of the Presbyterian writers in after-times, by endeavouring to throw a halo of chivalry around the Cavalier or Government party, and by presenting the recusant Presbyterians in an odious as well as ridiculous guise as a set of hot-headed fanatics or canting hypocrites. But all this will not do. Trying the question at the tribunal of common-sense, it is utterly impossible to acquit the Government of the time of gross corruption and malversation, or its subordinate officers of the most dreadful cruelty and oppression. How are we to account for the old and ineradicable feeling in the minds of

the Scottish peasantry against Episcopacy, and the strong and persistent voice of tradition, more especially in the western counties, in depicting the period between the Restoration and Revolution as the most wretched in Scottish history, from the combined effects of ecclesiastical misrule and military lawlessness? And to clench the whole argument, the country became at last thoroughly tired of the state of things, got quit of it as an intolerable burden, and from the Revolution to the present day has never allowed it to be reimposed.

Here is one of the "commissioners" above referred to making his appearance in Culross:—

"21 *November* 1681.

"The forsaid day, in presence of the saids baillies and counsell, compeared ane noble and potent earle, Charles, Earle of Mar, who produced before them ane commissione direct be his royall highness James Duke of Albany and York, and the Lords of his Majestie's Privie Counsell, to the magistrates and counsell of this burghe, of the dait the twentie-fourt day of September last bypast, ordering his lordship therby for administering the test to thame; in obedience wherof the said magistrates and counsell did in dewtiful manner accept of the samyne test, and did dewlie subscryve the samyne, as they war thairto requyred, qlk was done in that maner as the said test was fullie and ingeniouslie explened be the said Lords, efter the samyne explanatione was read, and in other wayes."

Many persons at this period refused to accept municipal office, as the doing so involved the taking of the test oath, which recognised in the completest and most abject manner the dictum of the King's

absolute supremacy in matters both civil and ecclesiastical. On 6th October 1681 we find the names of "Alexr. Halliday, Thomas Ogilvie, Johne Multray, Johne Sands, Rot. Huntar, Geo. Clerk, and Adame Pearsone, who refused to accept or to subscryve the test, being presented be the Earle of Mar in counsell this day to them, bot the remanent councillaris gave their oathes of fidelitie efter the usuall maner."

In the following month of January fresh troubles assail the burgh, in consequence of a prosecution in regard to taking the test, which, it would appear, had been evaded by many members of the corporations on the occasion of the last municipal election. The magistrates call before them and examine the deacons of the crafts, who can only plead their ignorance of the law in neglecting to enforce the test on their constituents, and request that all members of corporations who now refuse to take it may be deprived of their rights of freemen, and their names reported to the Lord Advocate. This was no other than the famous Sir George Mackenzie, a name then carrying almost as much terror with it as that of Claverhouse in connection with the persecution of the Presbyterians. He had just summoned the magistrates of Culross to give an explanation of their conduct before the Privy Council in Edinburgh; and, as may be expected, the consternation thus excited in the minds of the civic magistrates was extreme. The town council minutes report nothing further in the matter, but it would appear

that the burgh of Culross narrowly escaped on this occasion the imposition of an exorbitant fine.

In further reference to these persecuting times, the following curious paragraph may be quoted from Fountainhall's 'Decisions':—

"*December* 2, 1684.—The Lady Colvill is imprisoned in Edinburgh Tolbooth by the Privy Council for her irregularities, and particularly for breeding up her son, the Lord Colvil, in fanaticism and other disloyal principles, and abstracting and putting him out of the way when the Council was going to commit his education to others, for which we have Acts of Parliament as to the children of Papists, which may be extended *ex paritate* to others."

The Lady Colville spoken of here was the widow of Robert, second Lord Colville of Ochiltree, who had the dispute already related with the burgh of Culross regarding his heritable jurisdiction as lord of the regality. Her maiden name was Margaret Wemyss, and she was a daughter of David Wemyss of Fingask. Wodrow mentions her as petitioning the Council "for a better room than she hath in Edinburgh prison; which is granted her." He adds, however, that she was rather roughly treated, and was more than once liberated on bond, and reimprisoned. We have no further intelligence regarding her. With her son Robert, third Lord Colville of Ochiltree, who died without issue, the title became extinct, and the representation of the family has devolved (through female succession, however) on the Colvilles of Craigflower.

In an account of charges given in to the town

council of Culross on December 11, 1684, by Bailies M'Donald and Blaw, regarding their mission to Edinburgh to settle matters with the Lord High Treasurer, who had demanded an account of the common good of the burgh since the year of the Restoration, we find the following items:—

"*Imprimis*, given for advyce anent the giving in the accompts to the High Treasurer, 3 rix-dollars is £8 14 0

. . . . . .

Item, for horse-hayre from Culros to Edinburgh, and from Edinburgh to Culros, and fraight 6 0 0

Item, for the baillies necessar charges for the space of eight days at Edinburgh, and upon the rod . . . 18 18 0"

It would appear from the above that a rix-dollar of those days amounted to £2, 18s. Scots, or 4s. 10d. sterling; also, that the hire of a horse from Culross to Edinburgh, including the freight at Queensferry, was 30s. Scots (2s. 6d. sterling), or at most 5s. sterling for two persons. The expense of maintenance in Edinburgh and on the road seems to have averaged for each person £1, 3s. 7½d. Scots, or nearly 2s. sterling per day. Civic magistrates would hardly travel at so cheap a rate nowadays, even though we make the utmost possible allowance for the difference in the value of money.

The irrepressible middens again come up in a council minute of 19th November 1685. There must have been something pre-eminently precious

about them to the heart of the ancient Scot, when so many vain threats and remonstrances had to be addressed to him on the subject by his civil rulers, who, to do them justice, seem to have tried their utmost to abate the nuisance. But the force of public opinion and fashion was too strong for them; and nearly a century later we find Smollett, through the remarks of Mrs Winifred Jenkins, immortalising the "flowers of Edinburgh," as popular irony gently denominated the unsavoury discharges and odours then so prominent a characteristic of the capital. Mrs Hamilton, in her 'Cottagers of Glenburnie,' contributed a good deal to expose the practice; but the middens continued to remain the opprobrium of Scotland down to the first visitation of the cholera, when the dread of the pestilence at last effected what no arguments on the question of cleanliness had been able to accomplish, and that venerable institution of our forefathers as an adornment of the public streets may now be said to be a thing of the past.

On 21st January 1687 the Earl of Kincardine appears before the town council and produces a list of the names of such persons as the Privy Council desire to be appointed magistrates and councillors of the burgh of Culross, and a letter from the same authority empowering his lordship to take charge of the election. The force of overbearing authority could no farther go, and it is difficult to conceive of a more pitiable state of things than that revealed by the arbitrary commands of the Privy Council, and

the abject submission of the burghers, in whose municipal records the degradation is registered under the title, "Act of Admission of the Baillies and Counsell of Culros—1687." But the tide was just about to turn.

The Earl of Kincardine referred to as taking a chief part in these proceedings was Alexander, third Earl, son of Alexander, second Earl, and Lady Veronica. He seems to have been but a degenerate scion, and in his latter days, besides being afflicted with blindness, became almost lunatic. His sister, Lady Mary Cochrane, wife of William Cochrane of Ochiltree, induced him to resign the Kincardine peerage into the Crown's hands, with the view of a new patent being made out which would render it transmissible to heirs-female. The validity of this deed, however, on the part of the Earl, was disputed; and as he left no issue, his cousin, Sir Alexander Bruce of Broomhall, already mentioned, succeeded in establishing his right to the title in preference to Lady Mary. He became fourth Earl of Kincardine, and transmitted the title to his descendants—his grandson Charles, ninth Earl, succeeding in addition, in 1747, to the title of Earl of Elgin, which has since been united with that of Kincardine.

Culross must about this time have been in a miserable condition indeed, as on 26th January 1687 we find "the magistrats and toun councell taking to ther serious consideration the varie meine condition of the toun by the debts theroff, and the great trubell off the magistrats and other expenses by

divers contingencies with lawers and others in persuing and defending the common affairs of the said burgh, which for the tyme are in greatt disorder and confusion." Her day of prosperity was now nearly over.

The postal arrangements, in a minute of 18th April 1687, again engage the attention of the authorities, but it is still only with Edinburgh that these are maintained.

Notwithstanding all its troubles, the town council resolves to have its usual good dinner on the marches day :—

"9 *May* 1687.

"The samen day the magistratis and toune counsell, considering the laudable custome of this burgh anent the convening of the burgesses and inhabitants in arms upon Whitsunmonday, the laite trubles being so very great, they were fearing to put the inhabitants to that charges and expenses they used ordinarly to be at: Theirfore they ordayned the heall toune counsell, with sutch other persons as the magistrats should nominat, to be in readiness upon horse back upon Monday next, being Whitsunmonday, for ryding of the marches, conforme to the ordinary custome, and that to attend the Earle of Kincardyne; and allows the mill capons and hens to be brought for making the ordinary dinner, as is used upon that day."

Of this date (13th June 1687) another ordinance is issued against "vagabond sturdie beggars, able and solitarie men and women who have no callings nor tread."

The following refers to the legal provision for the maintenance and repair of highways by the system

which existed till very recently, and was denominated "statute labour." Like the old French *corvée*, though in a much milder form, this imposed on every one the duty of contributing his labour for a certain number of days in the year towards the repair and maintenance of the public roads. The burden might be commuted by a money payment, reckoned at so many days' wages; and this used to be levied on a rather unfair principle, as the landed proprietors and the owners of small tenements paid nearly the same amount :—

"11 *July* 1687.

"The samen day the magistrates and toune counsell, considering that his Sacred Majestie and Estates of Parliament hath, by severall Acts of Parliament, ordayned the reparation of high wayes and bridges; and particularlie the eight Act of the second session of Parliament of our dread Soveraigne King James the Seventh: . . . Therefore the sayd magistrats and toun counsell of this burgh, considering how mutch the highways and small bridges in and about this burgh, within the liberties theroff, is decayed and failed, and that for neglect of repairing, as the burgesses and inhabitants are oblidged by the said Act of Parliament —thairfore they ordayne, and is hereby ordayned, that the whole inhabitants within this burgh and liberties therof that are masters of families, upon the first advertisement given to them by the toune officers, that they shall be in readiness to work, ilk one of them, their six days for repairing of the said high wayes or bridges, either leading to the burgh or within the burgh, they always being within the liberties therof, or sutch as the Justice of the Peace within the shyre shall think fit or allow to be done for the profit of this burgh; and that sutch persons who have horses send their horses furnished for the sayd work during the space fore-

said, and sutch as have not horses are hereby ordayned either to goe and work themselves or hayre others in their place furnished with shuffels, mattoks, barrows, and sutch lyke, conforme to the forsayde Act of Parliament for repairing of the sayde highwayes and bridges, ilk persone being warned to the effect and causes forsayd, under the payne and penalties contyned [in] the sayde Act of Parliament, *toties quoties*, as they shall trangress."

An entry of this date (25th August 1687) inaugurates a system which was pursued very systematically throughout the succeeding century, and cannot be said to have been very conducive to the interests of the town. Culross Muir, a tract of considerable extent, was the property of the burgh; and as a large portion of it seemed capable of being enclosed and converted into arable land, the adjoining heritors were becoming eager of acquiring and adding to their own estates such parts of it as lay adjacent. In the depressed condition of the town's finances it was doubtless considered a most advisable procedure to increase its revenues by feuing out portions of comparatively unproductive territory. But the burgh authorities would have shown more wisdom, at least as viewed in the light of subsequent experience, had they retained the domain in their own hands, and expended on its reclamation the funds which were wasted in profitless litigations, and possibly, also, still more unjustifiable outlays. It has been the opprobrium of Scottish burghs that by their financial waste and mismanagement they were almost all reduced to a condition of bankruptcy,

from which in recent years they have only begun to recover. Much was spent in civic dinners and guzzling, and a good deal also in various kinds of peculation, which were veiled under the specious forms of travelling expenses and suchlike in connection with municipal business. In one ancient royal burgh it is said that the provost, when he had any business of his own to transact in Edinburgh, had not the smallest hesitation in engaging a post-chaise to convey him thither and back, the expense of which was debited to the civic funds, on the convenient plea of some town matters requiring attention at the time. And the provosts' wives were not slow to improve the occasion. "Many a grand ride," I have heard a lady say, in irreverent reference to the lord and lady mayoress of the burgh in question, "did Auld Luck and her gudeman get to Edinburgh in a post-chaise. And mony a gude dinner did he and the bailies get at the toun's expense." It is only justice to Culross and her civic magnates to say, that I never heard of any such malversations being specially attributed to them. And also, with regard to the feuing of the common moor, there is no reason, however inadequate might be the returns thereby realised, to accuse them of any jobbery, or the heritors of any unauthorised appropriation. As far as I can discover, everything seems to have been done openly and in due legal form. I would also direct the reader's attention to the condition embodied in the under-quoted extract regarding the planting of the roads through the

moor with trees. Though Scotland was then very barren of wood, the result of the wasteful demolition of the old forests, our forefathers seem to have been strongly impressed with the expediency of having wayfarers duly screened and provided with shelter from sun and rain. To such enactments we are indebted at the present day for many of our pleasant country roads, though passengers in vehicles, public and private, have been frequently not a little inconvenienced by projecting boughs. In the broad highways constructed in more recent times for the mail-coaches, the sides of the roads, unless where bordered by regular woods or plantations, are generally destitute of trees.

"The samen day, in reference to ane Act of counsell, daited the first day of August instant, anent the supplicatione given in by John Blaw of Castlehill, Robert Broune of Barhill, and others, ordering the piece of moore land to be marched and meithed to the said John Blaw and Robert Broune this day, the Dean of Guild, with such of the magistrates and counsell as was with him, declared that they have given the said moore lands sought for by the said John Blaw, and had marched and meithed the samen; and the yearlie feu-dutie therof, and other services proper to the said John Blaw, as being the toun's vassall, being referred to this day, the heall counsell, with advise and consent of the said noble Earle,[1] ordayned and hereby ordaynes the whole common moore to be set out by the magistrates, Dean of Gild, and thesurer in all tyme coming, and that not only to the said John Blaw of Castlehill, but to any other whatsomever person or persons who shall demand the samen, and that for twentie shilling Scots of feu-dutie yearlie for eatch aiker,

[1] Alexander, third Earl of Kincardine, already referred to.

with power to the magistrates and Dean of Guild to cause measure and meith the samen at any tyme they please, and to secure the said fewers of the moore land in due forme as shall be thought fit. And it is hereby expressly declared that no man shall imped or hinder any pairt of the said moore land to be taken (in feu-farm as said is), to be taken from the magistrates, and that under the pretext because it layeth neerest of his owne arable land, but that all and sundrie of the burgesses who shall supplicat the magistrates or counsell for any pairt of the said moore land first, and shall get the grant, they shall possess the samen peacibly and their successors for the forsaid feu-dutie. And it is lykwise hereby ordyned that the said feuers of the moore land shall plant the king's highway where their fewes are with trees, and mentayne the samen, and with all other services dew in the lyke case. And ordaynes the said John Blaw his entrie to be at Martimes next, or any else who pleaseth, as said is."

On 12th September of the same year a long diatribe is recorded on the part of the magistrates, bewailing, as formerly, the wretched condition of the town in consequence of the incubus of the quartering-parties, and reproaching the late town council for its mismanagement and malversation in office. A long list is given of accounts "for eall, meat, and other vivers," supplied by "the brewars within the brugh of Culross" to the soldiers from the garrison at Blackness, whose governor, it would appear, the bailies had been endeavouring to conciliate by a present of coals. Some settlement had to be made both with the soldiers and the brewers; and accordingly, two of the bailies are deputed to go

over to Blackness and settle with the governor of the garrison, whilst an assignation is to be made by the brewers of their debts to the town treasurer, who is to pay them "when the brugh shall be made able, or that the samen debts shall be allowed to all and every one of them in their public dues they are lyable to pay as burgesses." The number of names given as "brewers" is somewhat overwhelming, and induces the suspicion of there being either some mistake in the entry itself, or that every person who could pretend to the capability of "brewing a peck o' maut" fell under the designation, and had to contribute his quota towards the entertainment of the soldiers.

A week afterwards, on 19th September, a letter arrives "from the Lords of his Majestie's most Honorable Privie Counsell to the magistrates and toun counsell of this burgh for his Majestie's service, ordering the said magistrates and counsell to continue in their respective offices, and impouring them to exerce therin till his Majestie's further pleasure be signified; which letter being publikly red, the whole magistrates and counsell most freely and willingly did condescend to serve his sacred Majestie in their severall stations to the uttermost of their power during his royall will and pleasure."

Comment on the above is unnecessary, as it is also on an entry in the minute-book of date 21st February 1688, in which is recorded a new election of magistrates in accordance with the commands of the

Privy Council, "founded upon ane letter under his sacred Mātie's royall hand, daited at the Court of Whytehall the tent day of November last, nominating and appointing the persons particularly after-named to be magistrates and counsellors for the space therin contyned." It is almost identical in terms with an entry of the preceding year, and shows to what a state matters had now come in this country. But it was the last election by royal mandate, and ere another took place a new *régime* had commenced.

A council minute of 25th June 1688, ordering a civic holiday, with all the demonstrations customary on such occasions, "for joy of the birth of the most Seren Prince, the Prince and Stewart of Scotland," contrasts strangely, like Dryden's poem on the same event, with the circumstances that shortly afterwards ensued, and made the little Prince and his friends fugitives from Britain. It is scarcely necessary to remind my readers that the infant whose birth the Culross people are here summoned to rejoice over became known in after-days as the "Old Pretender," the cause of the rebellion in 1715, and the father of the still more famous Pretender, Prince Charles Edward, the hero of the "Forty-five." The entry in question is the last in the burgh records of any interest prior to the Revolution. Civil and ecclesiastical oppression had done their part, and civic mismanagement as regards finances had also been great. Various persons, including Sir Alexander Bruce of Broomhall, had lent money to the town on

the security of the New Mills, and these creditors were now pressing for payment. Drowned in debt and difficulties, with her municipal liberties extinguished, distressed inhabitants, and a declining trade, Culross, on the eve of the Revolution, was indeed in a pitiable condition.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE KIRK-SESSION RECORDS FROM 1676 TO 1684.

IN the year 1657, when the second volume of the session minutes of Culross terminates, we left Presbytery still vigorous and dominant, though beginning to be rather hemmed in and circumscribed by the policy of Cromwell, who had no idea of allowing the civil power to be overshadowed or controlled by any one religious denomination or ecclesiastical authority. As might have been expected, this rendered his sway equally distasteful to Presbyterians and Episcopalians, and, along with other reasons, contributed largely, in less than two years after his death in 1658, to the restoration of Charles II. in 1660—a consummation which had been mainly brought about by the English adherents of the latter party. In England the genius of the people has always attracted its sympathies to a liturgical service and an Episcopal hierarchy with a gradation of ranks in the Church. In Scotland, on the other hand, the disposition of the people has, in ecclesiastical matters, always led them to prefer a severely simple mode of

worship and a democratic system of Church government. Law-abiding, submissive, and obedient even to excess in political and civil matters, the Scotch have always shown themselves most resolute in resisting any attempt to interfere with their spiritual independence. How far their dislike to Episcopacy might have been modified or overcome had they been quietly left to regulate their Church matters for themselves, is a question that cannot easily be determined. Certain it is that the proceedings of the governments of Charles and James II. in endeavouring to force a prelatical system upon them, and the cruelties and injustice with which these proceedings were carried out, made such a consummation perfectly impossible. The lapse of 200 years has not yet sufficed to extinguish the remembrance of the oppressions endured by the Presbyterians in the period between the Restoration and the Revolution, or eradicate the hatred of Episcopal government and ritual which these sufferings left planted in the Scottish mind.

It may well excite wonder how the Scotch, with so strong a predilection for Presbytery, and such a vigorous and successful struggle for its maintenance against the power of Charles I., should yet have acquiesced so unresistingly in the altered state of matters under his son. Part of this might be owing to the overwhelming power of England, who had contributed her influences so zealously for the restoration of monarchical government and Episcopacy. Part of it might be due to the existence of divided

counsels among the Presbyterians themselves, who, as they always have done, and as most bodies religious or secular do, comprised two parties—one inclined to be moderate and accommodating, the other uncompromising and thorough in the objects which they sought to attain. And much also must be ascribed to the trimming and unworthy policy of a large portion of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, who, as had too often been the case in bygone times, went over to the English side and lent their aid to the enthralment of their country. Many were certainly faithful, and suffered accordingly, more or less; but the tide of fashion set the other way, and the generality, when not actually supporting, were tamely submissive to the despotic measures of the Scottish Privy Council, which usurped all the functions both of legislation and government.

Episcopacy was re-established in Scotland in 1662, but it was of a different kind from what has generally been supposed. In England, when the old Church government was reconstituted, there was simply a return to the old state of things as it had existed previous to the great Civil War, and all holders of benefices were required, before St Bartholomew's Day, to declare their unfeigned assent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer. As is well known, nearly 2000 clergymen refused to do so, and were in consequence ejected from their livings. In Scotland the terms imposed were different. There the English Prayer-book had never found a footing, and though a Liturgy and

Directory of Public Worship drawn up under the auspices of John Knox had been used for some time subsequent to the Reformation, they had never been made compulsory; and the disposition of the clergy and people tending in an opposite direction, the services of the Church had come generally to be conducted in the so-called extempore fashion—the form which has prevailed in Scotland down to the present day. The changes in the government of the Church from Presbytery to Episcopacy in the reigns of James VI. and Charles I., had introduced some changes in the mode of celebrating the sacraments which had been greatly objected to, and never entirely or generally carried into practice. And though government by bishops and archbishops had been introduced, the whole machinery of the Presbyterian system, with its ordinary services, Church courts, and discipline, was retained—the only difference being, that the bishop held a right of veto on all proceedings, and in the presbyteries and synods sat as a perpetual moderator. When Charles I. and Laud, in the superabundance of their zeal, endeavoured to introduce a service-book as well, the attempt was utterly discomfited from the first, and resulted, as we have seen, in the total abrogation of Episcopacy.

It has long been popularly supposed that when Prelacy was again triumphant at the Restoration, there was not merely that form of Church government re-established in Scotland, but the whole liturgical service of the Church of England, with the Prayer-book, instrumental music, and other append-

ages, introduced into every parish. Some expressions in the Waverley Novels have contributed to strengthen this idea, which, however, is a thoroughly erroneous one, and has been very satisfactorily dispelled by Dr M'Crie in his review of the 'Tales of My Landlord.' The fact is, that with the exception, perhaps, of the King's Chapel at Holyrood, where the English Prayer-book might be used with the accompaniment of a choir and organ, the services in the parish churches were absolutely identical with those of the present day. A Scottish Episcopal minister of the period in question, speaking of the mode of worship then prevalent, says that it only differs from the Presbyterian form in the recitation of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. And this assertion is confirmed by the following extract from the 'Ecclesiastical Records of the Synod of Fife,' edited for the Abbotsford Club :—

"St Andrews, *April* 25, 1666.

"Moderators are to take notice of the vniformity of ministers in their practise of causing the Creed to be recited at baptismes, and of saying of the Doxologie, and of making use of the Lord's Prayer in publik."

Little difference was then perceptible in outward form between the services of the Church and the conventicle, excepting that in the former the minister had conformed to Episcopacy by acknowledging the authority of, and receiving collation to his benefice from, the bishop of the diocese; whilst the latter, rather than acknowledge the authority of the

prelate and what he deemed an unscriptural form of Church government, had been ejected from his living, and turned out with his family on the world a proscribed and houseless wanderer. One cannot be surprised at the pertinacity with which the parishioners followed, in face of all dangers, the ministry of these men, when we consider both the high character which the latter bore, and the frequent utter worthlessness of those who were called in to fill their places. Bishop Burnet, an impartial witness, has given us a very striking description of the general low character of the *curates*, as they were called. Notwithstanding this name, however, their ministrations, after making the all-important deduction in point of piety and earnestness, were just those of the ordinary Presbyterian description.

In further connection with this subject, reference may be made to 'A Short Account of Scotland,' published in 1702, and written by the Rev. Thomas Moser, minister of St Ann's Within, Aldersgate, when he was chaplain to a Scotch regiment. In the preface the author says that the book was made out of some few notes he had taken when in Scotland fourteen years previously. This would bring the date of the account to about 1688; and after making some allowance for Episcopal prejudices, it may be regarded as a tolerably correct picture of Scotland in the time of the last Stewart king. It shows that up to and after the commencement of the eighteenth century the Presbyterian and Episcopalian forms of worship were nearly identical. After speak-

ing of the failure in Charles I.'s time to impose a liturgy, the author continues:—

"For which and some such reasons 'tis no mighty wonder the Scottish liturgy succeeded so ill; and I doubt whether the like attempt would not be dangerous at any time proposed, tho' I know withal that not only the Episcopal clergy, but generally speaking the nobility and gentry, think very well of it, wish it established by law, and would be content to be made a province to England, that the English service might take place in that country. However, the Episcopal Church have hitherto used no liturgy at all, no more than the Presbyterians who now govern; yet they everywhere agreed in the way of worship and their whole service on the Lord's Day, having no other holidays except fasts and feasts upon special occasion. For tho' they had a calendar in the Directory above, where there are the names of divers saints, yet 'tis more for the use of their fairs, and to know the age of the moon, or when the sun enters the signs, than anything else depends on these particulars. First, the precentor, about half an hour before the preacher comes, reads two or three chapters to the congregation, of what part of Scripture he pleases, or as the minister gives him directions. As soon as the preacher gets into the pulpit, the precentor leaves reading, and sets a psalm, singing with the people till the minister by some sign orders him to give over. The psalm ended, the preacher begins confessing sins and begging pardon, exalting the holiness and majesty of God, and setting before Him our vileness, and propensity to transgress His commandments. Then he goes to sermon, delivered always by heart, and therefore sometimes spoiled with buttologies, little impertinences, and incoherence in their discourses. The sermon finished, he returns to prayer,—thanks God for that opportunity to deliver His Word, prays for all mankind, for all Christians, for that particular nation, for the Sovereign and Royal family without naming any, for subordinate magis-

trates, for sick people (especially such whose names the precentor hands up to him); then concludes with the Lord's Prayer, to sanctifie what was said before. After this, another psalm is sung, named by the minister, and frequently suited to the subject of his sermon; which done, he gives the benediction, and dismisses the congregation for that time.

"This is the morning service, which, being repeated pretty early in the afternoon (because in the interim they eat nothing), makes up the Lord's Day duty as to public worship, saving that they forget not the poor, who are numerous and unprovided for by law, and so put into the bason what they think fit, either at their going in or coming out, to be disposed of by the ministers and elders in such proportions as the necessities of the people require and the sum will allow 'em.

"This is the Church's way in Scotland, and it seems to us Presbyterian; and therefore we the more admire that the two parties should so much disagree between themselves when they appear to the world so like brethren. Truly their difference is hardly discernible; for their singing of psalms, preaching, and collections are the same, —'tis the whole of their worship in both the congregations. They both do it after the same manner, saving that after the psalm the Episcopal minister uses the Doxology, which the other omits; and concludes his own prayer with that of the Lord's, which the Presbyterian refuses to do. Then for the discipline, it is the very same. Both practise it the same way in their parish consistories. Both have their Presbyterian and classical meetings. Both their meetings are accountable to synods, with this difference, that in the one synod the bishop presides, but in the other sometimes there is a chancellor and sometimes a settled moderator in the chair. So that the distinction of Churchman and Presbyterian is barely nominal and impertinent in this country, and in the judgment of unprejudiced people a very little charity might unite them.

"Their further agreement in christenings, marriages, burials, and the like, is obvious to every foreigner, and are administered in the following manner."

Mr Moser's statement in reference to the last I have summarised as follows: The communion was administered only once or twice a-year, and the elements were distributed to the congregation sitting. Baptism was administered just as it is in Scottish Churches at the present day. Marriages seem generally to have been celebrated in church, but otherwise there was no difference. No religious service of any kind was performed at funerals: even a clergyman, it is said, was seldom seen there.

The above account of Scottish religious services towards the end of the seventeenth century is extremely interesting, as it applies both to the Episcopal and Presbyterian persuasions, and gives us a thorough idea of the general mode of worship in those days. It will be obvious, therefore, that neither at the Restoration nor the Revolution, when Presbytery was supplanted by Episcopacy, and *vice versâ*, was there any change in the Church services that would have been visible to a superficial observer. A great difference would no doubt have been manifest in the fervour of the ministrations, and also in the religious character and moral tone of the parishioners. For the bulk of the people, in the Lowlands at least, held the tenet of the divine origin of Presbytery as strongly as the more important tenets of their faith, and considered the introduction of the authority of bishops as an un-

scriptural intrusion, which must nullify any benefits to be received from the ministrations of those who owned their jurisdiction. We may be the less surprised at the obstinate resistance of the Scottish nation to what may appear so small and imperceptible a change, when we remember the strong feeling excited on the occasion of the Disruption of the Scottish Church in 1843, and when, in the case of an entirely voluntary secession, and the absence of any change whatever either in government or ritual, a large portion of the Scottish nation, who had quitted the Church of their fathers, could for a long time hardly regard as Christians those who had remained within her pale.

To conclude this portion of my subject, it only remains to state that the Book of Common Prayer scarcely attained a footing among the Scottish Episcopalians till towards the end of Queen Anne's reign. Its adoption seems to have been hastened by the Act of Toleration passed in 1712, which bestowed liberty of worship on all belonging to that denomination who used the Church of England service and took the oath of abjuration. Many, indeed, refused the last condition, and were subjected to penalties in consequence. And notwithstanding the gradual adoption of the English Prayer-book, which is now universally used in the Scottish Episcopal Church, its adherents in the northern parts, where alone it has enjoyed any large amount of popular support, continued, till far down in the eighteenth century, to practise the same

simple Presbyterian-like ritual which had characterised their Church in the days when Scottish Episcopacy involved no further question than one of ecclesiastical polity.

The maxim of James VI. is well known—"No bishop, no king." This was the main reason for the pertinacity with which the English Court sought to force Episcopacy on the Scottish nation,—the dread of the democratic tendency of Presbytery, and the expectation, through having the appointment of the bishops in the King's hands, of restraining the Church, and thereby maintaining the uncontrolled authority of the Crown. Charles I., though fully imbued with the most exalted ideas of royal prerogative, had also in his disposition a good deal of the religious enthusiast; and it was his ambition to reduce his northern as well as southern dominions to a reception of High Church and Ritualistic Episcopacy. The struggle cost him his throne and life. His son, Charles II., had no zeal for religion of any kind; but he was thoroughly desirous of securing his own personal ease and comfort, and drawing from his subjects what supplies of money he pleased without being subjected to any unpleasant interference or questioning. In England his aspirations were held under some constitutional check; but in Scotland, where the limits of authority and submission had never been very clearly defined on either side, he and his Ministers were more daring and successful in their arbitrary procedure. The period between the Restoration and Revolution is

about the darkest in Scottish history. A paralysis seems to have laid hold of the nation, and for twenty-eight long years its annals present us only with a dismal picture of misgovernment and oppression, varied by one or two abortive and unsuccessful attempts at resistance on the part of the Presbyterians.

The kirk-session records of Culross, as already stated, break off in 1657, and are not resumed till 1676. What was the cause of this hiatus does not very clearly appear; for Mr Fleming and Mr Edmonston, who then filled respectively the first and second charges, continued to do so till some years after the Restoration. Possibly the session-clerk is to be credited with this negligence in the first instance. Great confusions certainly, indeed, did arise after the Restoration; and both ministers fell under the ban of the Archbishop of St Andrews, the notorious James Sharp. In the 'Ecclesiastical Records of the Synod of Fife,' already quoted, we find, under date "St Andrews, 1 April 1668," the following entry:—

"Deposition of Mr Robert Edmistoun.

"The Lord Archbishop declaired that he had keepit a visitation at Dunfermling, and that he had, upon good grounds, deposed Mr Robert Edmistoun, minister of Culros. As for Master Matthew Fleming, his colleige, the Archbishop delayit to proceed again him, seing ther wer some hopes of gaining him; and for that end Mrs Walter Bruce, William Peirson, John Shaw are appointed to tell him that he is noticed that he hes not joyned with his brethren of the Presbitry."

In connection with the above, we find in the list given in Wodrow's 'History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland,' of ministers ejected from their charges in 1663 for nonconformity, the names of Robert Edmonston and Matthew Fleming of Culross. The latter has C. appended to his name, signifying that he was confined to his parish. My conclusion is, therefore, that Mr Edmonston having proved the firmer of the two, and declined to make any compromise, he was deposed by the Archbishop, as above recorded; while Mr Fleming was found more pliable. The latter seems also to have been ultimately deprived of his charge, but continued to reside in Culross till his death, some years previous to the Revolution. A strange charge is brought against him and Lady Blairhall, one of his parishioners, and is detailed in the burgh records. It is only fair to say that it seems to have been wholly unfounded.

After Mr Edmonston's deposition, the second charge, of which he was incumbent, remained vacant till 1684, when Mr Alexander Young was appointed to the office. It would also appear that, for some time prior to 1676, both charges were vacant till the appointment of Mr Burnet to the first charge in that year. From the burgh records we gather that at this time the spiritual destitution of the parish was extreme; and, as we shortly see, this was also accompanied by a considerable moral declension. Though Culross and Tulliallan did not, perhaps, experience so keenly the miseries of the

period as the western and southern counties of Scotland, they nevertheless had a sufficient share. Fortunately perhaps for them, they belonged to the diocese of Dunblane, of which the gentle and saintly Leighton had been appointed bishop at the Restoration. He endeavoured, as far as he could, both to conciliate nonconformists and mitigate the severity of the measures taken against them. But his efforts in the latter direction were frowned on, both by Government and his brother rulers in the Church; and after passing from the bishopric of Dunblane to the archbishopric of Glasgow, he was at last fain to resign his charge and retire into private life. No traditions regarding him are preserved at Culross, unless it be one not very well authenticated, that in occasional visits there he lodged in a house in the Middle Causeway, opposite the Dundonald Arms. He was succeeded in the see of Dunblane by Bishop Ramsay, of whom we shall afterwards hear a good deal in connection with Culross.

Another distinguished person who, like Leighton, exerted himself to check the arbitrary proceedings of the time, and also, like him, only procured thereby disfavour for himself, was Alexander Bruce, second Earl of Kincardine. He had resided for some time in Holland before the Restoration, and had brought over from thence his wife, Lady Veronica Van Arsen, daughter of Baron Sommelsdyck, a Dutch nobleman. He had also there been intimate with, and assisted liberally in their difficulties, Charles II. and his brother, the Duke of York. Shortly after returning

to this country he succeeded, in 1662, his brother, Edward Bruce, in the earldom of Kincardine; and he also, about the same time, seems to have removed from the old family mansion in the Sand Haven of Culross to the stately palace of Culross Abbey, which had hitherto belonged to his kinsman, the Earl of Elgin. Our information regarding him is mainly derived from Bishop Burnet, who characterises him as "both the wisest and the worthiest man that belonged to his country, and fit for governing any affairs but his own, which he, by a wrong turn and by his love for the public, neglected to his ruin."

At the Restoration, Lord Kincardine became a member of the Privy Council; and it is to be recorded to his credit that he was the only one who opposed the re-establishment of Episcopacy, though his action went no further than proposing that the opinion of the nation should first be taken on this subject. At a subsequent period the government of Scotland was placed in his hands and in those of the Earl of Tweeddale and Sir Robert Murray, and was conducted by them with considerable mildness and impartiality. But this did not meet the views of the arbitrary Court party, headed by the Duke of Lauderdale, who had little difficulty in getting Lord Kincardine and others dismissed from their posts as Councillors. His lordship retired in disgust into private life, and died shortly afterwards, in 1680. His worldly affairs, as indicated by Burnet, had fallen into such confusion, that his large estates were adjudged by his numerous creditors, and the greater

portion of them finally purchased, in 1700, under a process of sale before the Court of Session, by the celebrated Colonel John Erskine, generally known as the "Black Colonel."

We are now, however, getting a little in advance of our Culross ecclesiastical annals. In 1665 we find the Earl of Kincardine, with others, made the subject of a complaint to the Court by Archbishop Sharp for having countenanced by their presence a Communion occasion at Tulliallan, at which Mr John Forrest, the minister, officiated, with the assistance of several ejected ministers. Mr Forrest himself was deposed, and Lord Kincardine had to write a letter of apology to the King. It is easy to see that with such proclivities he would be regarded with extreme suspicion.

Lord Kincardine seems to have taken a great interest in the welfare of the Church, and to have attended regularly the meetings of kirk-session. On the resumption in 1676 of a record of the session minutes, which we now proceed to consider, his name is prominently set forth. Very probably it had been owing to his bestirring himself in the matter that a regular minute-book began again to be kept, and a serious exertion made to remedy the disorders which had for a long time prevailed. Here is the first entry in the volume :—

> "Att the Paroche Church of Culrois, the twenty-sixt day of March 1676.
>
> "The whilk day their did conveene within the session hous of the said church ane noble and potent Earle, Alex-

ander, Earle of Kincardin, Johne Sands, ane of the lait baillies of Culrois, and Patrick Sands in Valeyfield, lait elderis of the said church-session of Culrois, with Maister Johne Birnet, minister thairof; and considering the manifold disorderis that hes bene in this church through want of discipline thir many yearis bygone, they thairfor thought it most fitt to ad some new persons within the toun and landwart paroche of Culrois, who, together with thameselves, might concur and assist the minister in exercing of Christian discipline within the said church in tyme coming, and in taking notice of the people within the samyne; and for that effect, having nominat and choysen Robert Newall thair present clerk, did unanimouslie elect, nominat, and choose thir persones following to be elders in the said church—they are to say,

For the Toun.	*For the Landwart.*
John Halliday, Baillie.	Thomas Bruce of Blairhall.
Alexr. Eizat, Baillie.	William Prestoun of Valeyfield.
Robt. Broun of Barhill, Dean of Guild.	Johne Spens of Blair.
Robert Huntar.	John Blaw of Castlehill.
William Blaw.	William Aitkene of Burrowane.
David Eizat.	David Broun in Blairhall.
Johne Multray.	Johne Porteous in Balgownie.
John Sands in Woodhead.	William Henderson in Whythill.

And the foirsaidis elderis, conveaned as said is, did, with consent of the said number, recommend the premiss to the presbitrie their approbatione as to the forme and maner therof.

"This is seene and approven by the presbitrie of Dumfermling, March 29, 1676, and subscryvit befor. *Sic subscribitur.* M. Shaw, *Pres. Sec.*"

The next entry is important as giving an account of the session registers as they then existed :—

"*The seventh day of May* 1676.

"The samyne day William Blaw ther reported that he had receaved from Gavin Weir, lait reader and precentor within the said church, two registers containing the actis and references of the sessione of Culrois—one therof from the elleventh of January 1629 to the eight of September 1646, the other register being from the twentie of October 1646 to the first of December 1657. As also the said William Blaw declared that he had receaved some other registers of baptisme and marriage, with some papers and bonds, conforme to ane inventar under Gavin Weir's owne hand, whilk inventar is ordained to be kept *in retentis*."

The reader will perceive that the above account corresponds strictly with the materials composing the kirk-session records up to this date, and which I have just been reviewing. Between 1657 and 1676 it is evident that no minutes of the session proceedings had been kept; and latterly, from there being a vacancy in both charges of the Abbey Church, no meetings of session had been held at all, and a period of disorder and confusion had ensued. Endeavour was now made to remedy this state of things—mainly, I have no doubt, through the influence of the Earl of Kincardine; but, as both the burgh and kirk records show, in the then condition of the country it was hopeless to expect any material improvement.

Here is something like a return to old Presbyterian discipline :—

"16*th July* 1676.

"The said day the searchers declared that they found Christian Makforlane cutting caill in tyme of divyne service, who was therfor ordained to be cited in befor the sessione against the next sessione day."

Christian fails to appear, and is cited three times to do so without effect. How the case was settled we are not informed.

The condition of Culross is reported to the presbytery, and then to the synod and bishop. The Bishop of Dunblane, to whose superintendence Culross belonged, was now James Ramsay, who had succeeded Leighton in that office a few years before. He had originally been minister of Kirkintilloch, and had been translated from thence to Linlithgow, of which he was minister when the notorious ceremony was performed of burning the Solemn League and Covenant—an act in which Linlithgow stood alone among Scottish burghs. From Linlithgow, Ramsay passed in 1670 to be parson of Hamilton and Dean of Glasgow, and in 1673 he was made Bishop of Dunblane. He is said to have advocated both political and ecclesiastical reform, and was the friend both of Burnet and Leighton, the latter of whom he aided strenuously in a vain endeavour to effect a union between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians. By the active part which he took in drawing up the Glasgow remonstrance against the Act of Supremacy, and by advocating the calling of a national synod, he incurred the dis-

pleasure of the Court party. It is more difficult to understand the disapprobation of the latter of Ramsay's proposal of the compilation of a liturgy; but, as we have seen, the introduction of any manual of that sort formed no part of the schemes of those who then governed the affairs of the Church. Indeed, with regard to some of them, such as Archbishop Sharp and the Duke of Lauderdale, there seems little doubt that, notwithstanding all their political servility and tyrannical measures, their own predilections as regards the services of the Church were for the Presbyterian form of worship. Be this as it may, a Royal letter was procured through the influence of Sharp, ordering the translation of the Bishop of Dunblane to the see of the Isles. Ramsay proceeded to London to obtain a reversal of this sentence; and Sharp having also repaired thither, a fierce altercation ensued between the two dignitaries. Ramsay's representations seem, however, so far to have prevailed, that in 1676 he was reponed in his bishopric of Dunblane. At this point we proceed again with our extracts:—

"17 *September* 1676.

"The session thinks fitt some thing be done for removing the scandalls which fell out the preceding years when there was no session; and referres therfor to the presbytrie for advice."

"1 *October* 1676.

"Anent the old scandalls, the minister declares that he had craved advice of the presbytrie, bot they declined to meddle with it, the case being extraordinarie; therfor referred it to the synod for advice."

The following brief minute points to a state of matters that continued to within the memory of many persons still living, and was only terminated by Lord Exmouth's bombardment of Algiers in 1816. The suzerainty of all these Barbary States belonged still in the seventeenth century to the Sublime Porte :—

"10 *March* 1678.

"Collection for the prisoners with the Turcks to be intimate the next day."

The next entry is a peculiar one, and records the appointment of James Ramsay, Bishop of Dunblane, to the incumbency of Culross—a living within his own diocese. Mr Burnet had been translated to the parish of Monymusk :—

"14 *September* 1679.

"Whilk day the session was convened be the Right Reverend James, Bishop of Dumblane, who declared to the said session that he had a presentation from the Earl of Kincardine to the minister's place vacant. The heritors present and members of session do very gratefully acknowledge the Earl's kindness to them in presenting the said James, Bishop of Dumblane, to be their minister."

Here come two interesting entries, which are readily explained by a reference to Mr Moser's account, previously quoted, of the Episcopalian and Presbyterian services as conducted in his day in Scotland. We there learn that marriages were generally celebrated in church ; and in such a case it was desirable that they should take place on the occasion of the week-day sermon, both with a view to the conveni-

ence of the minister and the edification of the marriage-party. The practice of having a "sermon day" every week, in addition to the regular services on Sunday, had originated in the palmy days of Presbytery, and, as we learn from the burgh records, was maintained after the Restoration. It has now fallen almost wholly into desuetude, but was kept up to a recent period in Glasgow, and became famous there in connection with Dr Chalmers's celebrated Astronomical Discourses, which were delivered on a week-day in the Tron Church.

The second entry quoted below refers to the singing of the Doxology or *Gloria Patri* at the close of the psalm—a practice which, as Mr Moser informs us, was a distinguishing peculiarity of the Episcopalian service :—

"11 *December.*

"It is thought fitt that those who have minde to marrie upon sermon-day, be oblidged to be present at sermon; wherfor the session ordains that the bridegroom shall pay 12 lb. Scots *ad pios usus* when he is after the third bell."

"The doxologie is moved to be sung, which was never in use since the restauration of the Government; which was accordingly done the following Sabbath."

"2 *May* 1680.

"Those who stay in the kirkyeard in tym of reading, to be delated be the collectours."

"4 *June* 1680.

"Those who have not brought in their offering for the bell are to be advertized to bring it in upon Sabbath, or, at farthest, to B. Halliday upon Thursday."

"John Moutray to speak with the deacon of the cordinars anent the removall of the black stoole."

"8 *July* 1680.

"Mr Robert Colvill hes mortified to the kirk, for the minister's use, ane cellar."

"29 *December* 1680.

"Tennants of Blair and Bordie, delated for carying fish from the cruives to Dunfermline upon Sabbath last, to be cited."

"10 *May* 1681.

"Intimation the next Sabbath to be given from the pulpit that none keep their doors shut when the searchers offer to come to see who is at home in tym of divine service."

"15 *November* 1681.

"The heritors are desired to meet upon Saturday at 10 o'clock about the ordering of the windows, and considering how soon the little bell may conveniently be hung."

The following entries are interesting as showing that, till near the close of the seventeenth century at all events, the kirk-session of Culross claimed a right of property in the chapel and burying-ground attached, founded by Archbishop Blackadder of Glasgow in honour of St Mungo at the east end of Culross, and generally known as St Mungo's Kirk and St Mungo's Kirkyard. They are described in a separate chapter; and in the account of the girdlesmiths some notice will be found of Mrs Margaret Anderson or Sands, who comes into collision on this occasion with the kirk-session, as she also did at another time in reference to her own craft of girdle-making with the Culross magistrates:—

"24 *April* 1682.

"It is recommended upon the D. of Gild to look umquhile Robert Sands writs of his house that's near St Mungo's kirkyeard, that they encroach not upon it."

"31 *Ap.* [*sic*].

"George Wilson, Dean of Gild, reports that Robert Sands marches to the kirkyeard on the east, and is of opinion that ther is not so much wast ground betwixt the house and the kirk as is disponed to him.

"George Wilson is to try yet more fully."

"21 *May.*

"George Wilson reports that Margt. Andersone, relict of umquhile Robert Sands, hes 6 rud of ground from her house to the kirkyeard, and John Sands offered in her name 50 $\overline{m}$, or the annual rent of it yearly.

"George Wilson, Rob. Hunter, Wm. Blaw, Rob. Bill are to agrie with Margt. Anderson for that peice of ground betwixt her house and St Mongo's Kirk."

"28 *June.*

"These appointed to agrie with Margt. Anderson, report that she will not stand to her first offer; the D. of Gild is to cause stop the bigging.

"11 *July.*

"Grange desires ther may be a collection for building a bridge abov the water that runs betwene Shyrsmilne and Grange. This to be spoken of when the sess. is more frequent."

"27 *August.*

"Margt. Anderson's business to be spoken to the clerk, that securities may be drawn."

As nothing further is recorded about Margaret Anderson's case, it may be concluded that her dis-

pute with the kirk-session regarding the piece of ground adjacent to St Mungo's Kirk was amicably adjusted.

"17 *Septr.* 1682.

"Three basins sent for from Edinburgh—one for baptisms, the other two for bearing the bread elements at the Communion."

"25 *Septr.* 1682.

"Some one to be thought upon against the next day who may serve as officer, to whom the care of the bells and clock may be committed."

"1 *Octr.* 1682.

"Collection for Grange Bridge to be intimat. Letters to be sent to the neighbouring parishes for help to repair Grange Bridge."

"17 *Octr.* 1682.

"The hospitall men are to be advertized to wait better upon the publick ordinances.

"Given two dollars for to buy a suit of clothes, shoes, and stockings to Robert Marret, who is going to a trade.

"Sarah Gibson is to get as much from the treasurer as will buy shoes."

"8 *Julie* 1683.

"The which day it was thought fitt by the members of the session that the Communion tables be sett in the body of the Church."

Formerly they had been in the so-called "quier" or chancel.

"15 *Julie* 1683.

"The which day it was intimat that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was to be celebrat the next Lord's Day, and

the people were exhorted to be present on Saturday next at the preparation sermon.

"The which day the elders were desyred to be present at the distribution of the tokens the ensuing week, to give notice if there be any under scandall who are to communicat."

"21 *Julie* 1683.

"The which day the elders were placed for ordering the elements at the tables."

This seems to have been the only time between at least 1676 and 1684 that the Communion was celebrated in Culross.

The following entry is about the only one in the present volume where any reference is made to public affairs. A general thanksgiving had just been ordered throughout the kingdom for the King's escape from the Ryehouse Plot:—

"2 *Septr.* 1683.

"The people were exhorted all of them the next Lord's Day to conveine, to testifie their thankfulnes to God for the great delyverance o^{r} King hath mett wt all a late from the conspiracie laid against him; and publict edict having been read from pulpit for that effect."

The whole of the records in this volume (1676-84), which was compiled under the reign of Episcopacy, are meagre in the extreme. In the two previous volumes the session proceedings are chronicled with great minuteness, and exhibit a state of zeal and energy in the Church of Scotland which seem to have been lamentably deficient under the sway of Prelacy. Little more is detailed than a formal record

of the meetings of session, and of the sums of money collected and disbursed. Whatever may be said of the rigour and oppression of Presbyterial surveillance, it is quite refreshing to turn to the more active state of things as evidenced by the parochial records after the Revolution.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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